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Near East & South Asia

INDIA

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29 December 1992

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International Affairs

Expectations From Clinton Administration Told

No Change in Ties

93AS0227A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 5 Nov 92 p 11

[Article by Dilip Mukerjee; italicized words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 4—Partisan politics stops at the water's edge. This American adage underlines the truth that U.S. foreign policy is based on a national consensus deriving from the country's perception of its interests. It follows from this that the differences which figure in Indo-U.S. relations under Mr George Bush will continue to be just as troublesome during Mr Bill Clinton's tenure in the White House.

In fairness, however, it should be added that the factors contributing also to an unprecedented warmth between New Delhi and Washington in recent months, as highlighted by growing contacts in the military field, will retain their relevance because of the underlying geopolitical realities, chief among them being India's proximity to the Gulf.

As Mr Clinton said in a major statement of foreign policy in New York last April, the end of the cold war does not mean the end of danger in the world. "Even as we restructure our defence" in the light of the collapse of the main adversary, the Soviet Union, "we must prepare for new threats" of regional and ethnic conflicts. This means a U.S. need for access to the Gulf in case the region faces another intra-mural crisis, a context in which India's participation in "co-operative vigilance" could be helpful by way of staging facilities for aircraft and naval vessels. This perception will obviously count as much with Mr Clinton as it does with the Pentagon and the state department under Mr Bush.

In other words, there is no reason to expect any change in the tenor of an improving relationship though there may be some difference in how Mr Clinton and his associates put across their concerns or in the choice they make from among available instruments to gain a particular objective such as non-proliferation.

Democrats have always been very much concerned about the dangers stemming from the spread of nuclear weapons, though it can be argued that the legislation in this regard spearheaded by Mr Jimmy Carter following India's 1974 test would have been put in place just as readily by a Republican President. But it also needs to be noted that both Democrats and Republicans have been equally pragmatic in dealing with nuclear holdouts as evident from waivers agreed upon by Democrat-dominated Congress to allow U.S. aid to Pakistan in deference to strategic compulsions of the cold war. From this one can safely infer that an executive led by Mr Clinton will allow India the time and opportunity—as

the Bush administration did—to adjust its nuclear stance to meet current international concerns.

Indian policy-makers will, however, have to keep in mind that Mr Clinton is keen on giving the International Atomic Energy (IAEA) the authority to undertake surprise inspections in member countries as a safeguard against the development of clandestine facilities *a la Iraq*. It can be presumed that nations will be given notice that barring access to the IAEA will make them liable to U.N. sanctions.

Human rights constitute another field in which a Clinton presidency may turn out to be more uncomfortable than either those of Mr Ronald Reagan or Mr Bush. Mr Clinton has accused the Republican administration of continuing to "coddle (China's) aging rulers with contempt for democracy and human rights" and said there was no justification for doing so. A report in *TRIBUNE* by its correspondent cites him as saying that India has been discriminated against in this regard. Even so, there is reason for concern that India's record in this respect in Punjab and Kashmir may invite harsher scrutiny once Democrats take over.

By the same token, Democrats are likely to be unforgiving of the export of terrorism from Pakistan by way of weapons, training and cash. The threat to name Pakistan as guilty of this may, therefore, become far more real. But it is just as well that New Delhi is already trying to respond to the criticisms it has been facing from Western human rights organisations as evident from the plans being drawn up for a statutory commission to prevent abuses and the consultations being held with Kashmiri leaders to revive the political process. India may well have to move farther and faster to keep out of trouble.

In the economic arena to which Democrats are committed to giving priority, things may become marginally worse not only for India but other third world traders because of Mr Clinton's promise to open up markets for American goods and services. Questions of market access and safeguards for intellectual property rights may well become a more important factor in the U.S. relationship with nations than they have been so far. The fact that provisions like Super 301 now find place in the statute book is because a Democrat-dominated Congress so wanted, as New Delhi would need to remember in dealing with the incoming U.S. administration.

Warm Ties Expected

93AS0227B Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
6 Nov 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 5—Though Mr Rajiv Gandhi and later, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, had established warm, personal rapport with Mr George Bush, diplomatic analysts here expect a warm, businesslike and cordial relationship with the U.S. President-elect, Mr Bill Clinton.

Foreign policy experts do not expect any radical change in the U.S. policy towards India. In fact, they feel that the U.S.A.'s primary concern at the moment will be on the domestic economic front and on those issues which affect its domestic scene as far as relations with certain other countries or group of countries are concerned, for instance with Europe and Japan.

Whatever the Democrats out of power might have said in regard to certain sensitive issues, such as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and human rights, it is not diplomatic observers do not visualize any sea change in U.S. policy on these issues. [sentence a published] Even so, it is only natural that there would be a certain shift in nuances and one could reasonably expect a certain firming up of the stance on both these sensitive matters.

India, for its part, would try and plead its case on both these issues with the same degree of vehemence and perseverance as it had done in the past without yielding much. Observers also do not expect the U.S.A. to twist India's arms on NPT [Nuclear Nonproliferation] and human rights to the extent of linking it with aid from major financial institutions where it has a large say.

The Prime Minister's message to Mr Clinton, congratulating him on his success, significantly points out that when two large and vibrant democracies interact, it is realistic to expect differing perceptions on such issues of mutual concern. These, he has said, do not undermine the many values that the U.S.A. and India jointly cherish.

It is also felt that the ill-concealed glee in Pakistan may be premature since Mr Clinton in power might not swing all the way towards Pakistan but, in fact, try and maintain a balance in the relations between the two major countries in the sub-continent. Pakistan's clandestine nuclear programme is also not likely to be taken kindly by the Clinton regime.

India expects the new president, for whom Mr John Kennedy is a hero, to lay stress on the fact that the U.S.A., and India, as the world's two largest democracies should forge closer ties. Mr Rao, in his message, has made this point and said that the post-Cold War era has provided an unprecedented opportunity to translate the mission of Nehru and Kennedy into an enduring relationship based on mutual interests, trust and shared responsibility.

India also expects the Clinton Administration to take a keen interest in its economic relations with India, especially now that India has set in motion a package of economic liberalization measures. Mr Rao has stressed the fact that though the U.S.A. is India's largest trading partner and the foremost foreign investor, this was still a fraction of the enormous potential for bilateral economic collaboration and there was greater scope to work together in this direction.

Rao Message Noted

93AS0227C Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
5 Nov 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 4—India is looking at Mr Bill Clinton's accession to the U.S. presidency with hope duly tempered by the realities of the post-Cold War, post-Soviet Union world.

Mr Clinton's arrival, observers feel, will impart a fresh impetus to bilateral ties but that may not essentially mean the going will be eased because a Democrat is occupying the White House. Just how carefully optimistic policy-makers are being about the prospect of dealing with the future Clinton Administration was illustrated by the Prime Minister's initial reaction itself "When two vibrant democracies interact, it is realistic to expect differing perceptions on some issues of mutual concern," Mr Narasimha Rao said in his congratulatory message to Mr Clinton. "These do not undermine the many values the United States and India jointly cherish."

The Prime Minister did refer to the greater sentimental attachment between Democrats and India—"Jawaharlal Nehru and John Kennedy shared a vision of forging closer ties between the two largest democracies in the world, we know you share his view"—but the Clinton victory is lulling nobody into false visions of ease: Carla Hills is not going to suddenly don kidgloves.

Although officially the foreign office was silent today, sources said no major changes can be expected on substantive issues between India and the United States. American attitudes on nuclear non-proliferation, the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), human rights and IPR-related trade terms are not likely to change for policies on these issues have bipartisan moorings, and, more important, they are issues of Congressional concern. A new man in the White House can make changes in emphasis but not in substance.

Indeed, a strong perception in South Block is that the arrival of Mr Clinton might increase the pressure on strategic defence reduction and trade ties owing to domestic pressure. But they do expect, at the same time, an easing of pressure on India's domestic economy from the World Bank and IMF. In addition, it is hoped that the "atmospherics" of Indo-U.S. negotiation will be more conducive with a Democrat in office. There are those who feel there was something to be said for the Bush team with which Indian officials had achieved a measure of familiarity but most feel that properly handled, rapport with the Democrats might soon began to outweigh that.

The former foreign secretary, Mr S.K. Singh, felt, for instance, that the change in the U.S. is a change for the better. "With every change there is a certain shaking up of things and a dusting of dark corners. India did not figure very prominently in the campaign and it will not figure very prominently on Mr Clinton's agenda but I

would think the change is for the better ... for one thing, the new administration might be much more prepared to accept human rights infringements from terrorist and extremist groups in Punjab and Kashmir," Mr Singh felt. He added, though, that much would depend on what initiatives New Delhi takes on building ties with the new setup.

The forthcoming round of talks between Indian and U.S. officials on the nuclear non-proliferation question should offer South Block its first indication on what the attitude of the Clinton administration will be. Defence experts feel that in the days to come, pressure will mount on India to sign the NPT and the MTCR but they also see growing cooperation in the area, with increased joint exercises and exchanges.

Pressure for Nonproliferation Pact

93AS0227D Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Nov 92
p 1

[Article by R. Chakrapani]

[Text] Washington, Nov. 4—The Clinton administration, like the present Republican administration, is likely to keep up pressure on India to accept strict enforcement of nuclear non-proliferation standards and also to conform to the Missile Technology Control Regime.

It may also toughen sanctions on countries not falling in line with the two regimes.

While seeking to improve trade relations with India, it will insist, like the present administration, on India providing full protection to American intellectual rights.

Advisers to the Clinton campaign have dropped these hints, suggesting they are standards evolved by Democrats in the Congress and they will be abiding by them.

Mr. Clinton as a candidate had welcomed the Narasimha Rao Government's thrust for economic reform, deregularisation of industry and opening of the Indian market to foreign investment. His aides have said the U.S. would like to have improved trade relations with India but there could be no substantial flow of investment without adequate guarantees for protecting intellectual property rights.

As one U.S. official said recently U.S.-India relations which marked an improvement after the collapse of the former Soviet Union, would continue to improve.

A Clinton aide said India's growing markets with a rising middle class sector offers much scope for two-way trade to flourish and for a significant increase in investments in India. So, India will be well advised to remove all obstacles that could inhibit trade and investment.

No reference to India: Mr. Clinton has delivered at least four foreign policy statements in which India does not

figure and South Asia as a region is mentioned only in the context of removal of the dangers of nuclear non-proliferation.

The Clinton administration is more likely to be influenced by Democratic senators and Congressmen who are the prime movers of the non-proliferation law and have called for its strict enforcement. If what has been suggested by an informal outside adviser to the Clinton campaign is going to be followed by a Clinton Presidency, a sanctions regime that would tighten economic screws on non NPT-countries is likely.

According to this adviser, the sanctions could include making adherence to nuclear non-proliferation standards a conditionality to approval of World Bank loans.

PM's visit: Though not decided yet, the first official visit to Washington by the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao in the first half of 1993 is very much on the cards.

Ties with Pak. Closer home to India, the Clinton administration will not favour a "business as usual" relations with Pakistan until it gives up the quest for nuclear weapons and falls in line with the non-proliferation regimen.

Ambassador to U.S. Reiterates Concerns

93AS0287A Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Nov 92
p 9

[Article by K. K. Katyal: "India, U.S. Flexible on Vital Issues"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 20—The speeches at the credentials-presentation ceremonies are normally formal and ritualistic but what the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, and the new Indian Ambassador, Mr. S. S. Ray, said at yesterday's function in Washington bring out the respective concerns of the two Governments, though their formulations were clothed in diplomatic politeness.

Significantly, Mr. Ray, who spoke first, pointedly mentioned non-proliferation and human rights. On both these issues, he enunciated the Indian viewpoint—in an obvious attempt to forestall references to the U.S. stand. Mr. Bush, who spoke next, did not fail to touch on these subjects. What stood out however—in both the statements—was flexibility and not stridency. The comparative analysis throws some important pointers.

Conceding that proliferation of weapons of mass destruction was an issue of major international concern, Mr. Ray reiterated India's advocacy for their "total elimination," welcomed the successful conclusion of the chemical weapons convention and made the following conciliatory point: "We share the United States' nuclear proliferation concerns and are willing to engage in a bilateral dialogue with you on how the goal of non-proliferation can be advanced while taking into account

our legitimate security interests." Then followed a reference to the bilateral dialogue that was already on.

The decision to engage in bilateral discussions on non-proliferation was taken in January, during the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao's meeting with Mr. Bush. Officials of the two sides have since met alternately in the two capitals, each side acquainting the other with its view of the global and regional security and the manner it had chosen to respond to factors of concern. The dialogue was at a "vigorous stage," according to one account, but a lot more talking will be necessary before it enters the clinching phase.

Mr. Bush had commended to Mr. Rao the proposal for five-nation discussions to work for a nuclear-free South Asia. Yesterday, he did not mention it. There was no reference to the non-proliferation treaty [NPT] or the U.S. plea for India's accession to it. That, however, should not be taken as a dilution or softening of the American stand. Welcoming New Delhi's efforts to reduce tensions with Pakistan and China, Mr. Bush urged India to redouble its efforts "to fully realise peace and security in South Asia" and wanted it "to look seriously at ways to affiliate" itself with "the various non-proliferation agreements that have won nearly universal acceptance." That he had the NPT in mind should not be a matter of doubt.

On human rights, Mr. Ray maintained that India had not wavered in its commitments but was obliged to combat terrorism that had raised its ugly head in some of the border areas, with an unprecedented virulence. He spoke of the decision to set up a National Human Rights Commission and take legislative measures to provide for an institutional base for the purpose. On his part, Mr. Bush made a brief but emphatic point—"We continue to be concerned by reports of human rights abuses."

The change of administration, as has been clear, will not make any difference to the doggedness with which the U.S. had sought to pursue its stand on non-proliferation and human rights.

Anti-India Campaign in U.S. Seen Well-Financed

93AS0196B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 9 Nov 92
p 1

[News Story: "Anti-India Campaign Run by Hired Firms"]

[Text] New Delhi, 8 Nov (JANSATTA)—What do the pro-Pakistani Kashmiris in the United States have that India does not? According to a person who keeps an eye on the U.S. Congress, they have a lady called "Classroom Mary." She is associated with the firm called Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly responsible for managing the Bush campaign.

The lady has been meeting U.S. senators and congressmen for the last eight years in the halls of the U.S. Congress on Capitol Hill. Her consulting fees are \$1.2

million. Mary's firm, Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly, succeeded in introducing a resolution against India during the last session of the Congress. We have to praise the efforts of the Indian Embassy in Washington in making this resolution fail. However, Mary did not give up, and is working hard for the next round.

After the pressure was increased, two major companies launched anti-India campaign on the Hill. However, Mary's firm is working only for the Kashmiris against India. Pakistan has officially hired Dennis Neal and Company to protect its interest in the U.S. Congress. The annual fees for their service is said to be \$600,000.

The "Manafort" firm not only works on the Kashmir-related issues, but also throws in such sensitive issues as India's nuclear program. Neal is said to be behind the bill introduced by Senator Dan Burton to reduce aid to India.

Some luck and some hard work has helped India to keep these problems at bay. However, according to some knowledgeable sources, India will not be able to continue fighting these anti-India forces for long. The proof of the efforts of these professional firms is seen in the increasing number of India-related bills introduced in the Congress recently. A total of seven bills related to India were introduced in the two Houses during the last session. One of these was for a plebiscite in Kashmir and the second to let the Punjabis have the right to self-government. Fortunately, none of these bills reached the voting stage as all of them were rejected during the first reading.

Since 1989, five bills related to India were presented for vote in the U.S. Congress. Four were to reduce aid to India and one was to impose the Pressler Amendment on India. All five bills were rejected.

Pressure on India is expected to increase with the Democratic government in the United States. The three main areas of pressure are human rights, nuclear nonproliferation, and trade. The other cause for concern to India is that Pakistan is joining the UN Security Council in January next year and will be able to accelerate its anti-India campaign in the United States. Now that the U.S. Congress is going to play a very effective role in international affairs, India must improve relations with congressional representatives and senators.

The efforts of Indian diplomats cannot be as effective as those of hired companies because the diplomats do not have the right contacts. All of these companies hire former or defeated Congress members. Not only Pakistan, but also several other nations have retained these companies. Even China and Bangladesh are doing this.

U.S. Seen Supportive of Division of Kashmir

93AS0304A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 2 Dec 92
p 4

[Article by Rai Singh: "Is There a Plan Under Way To Divide Kashmir?"]

[Text] Mr. Shaharyar Khan, a foreign secretary of Pakistan, told a news agency in Washington on 22 November that it would be all right to mention the steps to promote good will and mutual trust being taken by India and Pakistan at the foreign secretary level. The main question, however, according to Shaharyar Khan, is that the 40-year-old Kashmir issue cannot be forgotten even when smaller affairs are taken care of. The reason is that this issue is the main source of all Indian-Pakistani problems. When he was asked how the Kashmir issue could be resolved, he repeated that according to Pakistan, it can be resolved by holding a plebiscite as recommended by the two UN Security Council resolutions passed in 1948-49. Some nations, including the United States, believe that the UN Security Council resolutions became irrelevant after the 1972 Simla Pact. Shaharyar Khan also said that if a government in Pakistan wins by a 90 percent vote, it will hesitate in moving away from the UN Security Council resolution, because the Kashmir issue is joined with religion and has become an extremely emotional issue.

This statement made by Shaharyar Khan clearly indicates that it does not matter how many years Pakistan and India hold talks; the main goal is for Pakistan to devour Kashmir. A talk with Pakistan means that it will be looking for cheaper and more useful objectives to help it move toward its main goal. Sending Pakistani terrorists to Kashmir and spreading terrorism could be the first step to achieve this goal after the Simla Pact.

We cannot say what India will do in Kashmir and what steps it will take there. We have received a glimpse of India's activities. There is a hint hidden in several statements that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao issued recently. Just as he established democracy in Punjab, he wants to fight fundamentalism and terrorism with democracy in Kashmir also. The prime minister sent some Central ministers to visit Jammu-Kashmir in order to get an idea of how successful a democratic system will be in Kashmir. The Human Resources Minister, Arjun Singh, said in Jammu on 23 November that he recommends a new initiative. He proposed that we must give up old methods to resolve the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Arjun Singh did not describe this so-called new initiative; instead, he said that he will make a presentation to the prime minister about the opinion of people in Jammu and Kashmir.

Unofficially, the majority of Congress (I) wants to hold elections in Jammu and Kashmir the same way they did in Punjab. If this problem cannot be solved by establishing a popular government, then at least it will help find other ways to resolve it. These people argue that this way India can prove at international level that it follows democratic secular policies to counter terrorism and fundamentalism. There are some leaders in the Congress Party who believe that if elections are held in Jammu and Kashmir in the present situation, they will not be independent elections, and no popular government could be established in Sri Nagar. India may earn some

glories at the international level by holding such elections, but it cannot protect its national interests. The first question arises: Will the candidates be able to win election in Jammu and Kashmir without the support of the terrorists? The second question is: If people win elections with the endorsement of terrorists, religious fundamentalists, and Pakistan supporters, then will not they propose that Kashmir be merged with Pakistan and offer Kashmir as a gift to Pakistan? If this happens, no one would be able to find any legal points against it, and Pakistan will call it an option to a plebiscite and will accept it.

Perhaps that is what Pakistani Defense Minister Syed Ghaus Ali Shah was thinking when he gave an interview on 20 November to *Jane's Defense Weekly* in Singapore. He said that Pakistan does not think there will be an Indian-Pakistani war in the near future. The fact is that Pakistan has no desire to start a war with India because, according to its strategy, Pakistan will be able to annex Jammu and Kashmir within the next 10 years by sending its terrorists into Kashmir. If India held any elections within this period, then Pakistan would be able to achieve its goals within three years. The attitude of Western nations about Jammu and Kashmir, especially those of the United States and Great Britain, are very important. The attitude of these nations is that the Kashmir issue can be resolved through the Simla Pact by bilateral talks. However, these countries make such announcements only as a routine. The real beliefs of these Western nations are evident by the statement issued recently. There are secret documents in the State Department that discuss the division of Kashmir.

The story about dividing Kashmir is an old one. Thirty years ago Henry Cabot Lodge, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations at the time, toured India and Pakistan and had lengthy talks with Indian and Pakistani leaders. During his trip to India and Pakistan, Henry Cabot Lodge sent a cable to Washington, D.C. In this cable, he referred to then Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon and said that Pakistan was fed up with the Kashmir issue and was ready for a resolution. Cabot Lodge said in that cable that Feroz Khan Noon had not mentioned any plebiscite to him. This indicated that Pakistan was ready for the division of Kashmir. Ambassador Lodge also said that Mr. Noon also raised the question of river waters in both countries and had hinted that Pakistan was ready for an agreement. As soon as this cable was received by then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, he instructed the U.S. ambassador in Delhi, Ellsworth Bunker, to get India's reaction to this proposal. Mr. Bunker met with N. R. Pillai, the secretary of India's foreign ministry, on 8 June 1958. Mr. Pillai told the U.S. ambassador that Mr. Nehru had suggested the resolution of the Kashmir issue three years earlier. This was based on the cease fire line, and Pakistan had rejected this offer.

The foreign secretary also brought to Mr. Bunker's attention that after Prime Minister Nehru's suggestion was rejected by Pakistan, two more unsuccessful

attempts were also made. The first effort was made by then-U.S. Deputy Secretary of State William Rounty. The second was made by Gerald Smith, another deputy secretary of state. In the two proposals made by the United States, the 1948-49 resolutions passed in the Security Council were declared to be unpracticable. Therefore, the division of Kashmir was considered to be another option. Foreign Secretary N.R. Pillai clearly told Ambassador Bunker that the U. S. suggestion would not be successful after all these efforts. It is strange that U.S. Ambassador Bunker met Foreign Secretary Pillai in Delhi on 8 June 1958 and that Mr. Nehru had told President Eisenhower in his 7 June 1958 letter that he would not accept any third-party interference in Kashmir. According to Nehru, Pakistan had attacked Kashmir; therefore, aggressor Pakistan should not have been given an equal status with victim India.

The secret State Department document that was published on 20 November has given detailed plans about dividing Kashmir. I learned of these plans in 1960, when I was working in the Indian Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan. It is coincidental that William M. Rounty, who was deputy secretary of state, had come to Sudan as the U.S. ambassador. Almost at the same time, British Ambassador I.N. Scott was also appointed to Khartoum. Both these diplomats had a detailed and commendable knowledge about India. Therefore, I became very close to them both. Mr. Rounty was the head of the West and South Asia Division of the State Department and was the chief adviser to then U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Sir I.N. Scott was a British IAS [Indian Administrative Service] officer who had worked in Peshawar as an assistant to the famous governor, Sir Olaf Kairo. Later, he was an adviser in Lord Louis Mountbatten's office in Delhi. The document about Kashmir's division was prepared by William Rounty and Sir I.N. Scott before they were appointed in Khartoum. Secretary of State Dulles had assured then President Eisenhower that Britain supported the document prepared by these two. He meant that the proposal to divide Kashmir was a joint effort. The question arises: What was included in this document that made the United States and Great Britain optimistic about revolving the Kashmir issue, and why is this being made public now and being presented as an option for resolving the Kashmir issue? Some major aspects of these documents are: communal makeup be kept in mind when the state is divided, geographic approximations must be kept in mind when considering India and Pakistan's demands, present (of that time) geographic and administrative borders should be disturbed as little as possible, and the outline for division should be made, keeping in mind travel and traditional trade routes and present (of that time) and without harming any future irrigation plans, hydroelectric power projects. The dividing line should be decided keeping in mind the defense of both nations, especially the whole northern border. According to U.S. documents, the agreement of both nations was considered imperative while planning the division of Kashmir. There was no mention of a third-party involvement;

however, it was mentioned that either party could get assistance from the experts to write various parts of the document on division.

It is an interesting and historical coincidence that thirty years ago, the United States asked Pakistan to accept the proposal for division because it said that if Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy won, then India would have more support in Washington. Therefore, Pakistan should have accepted the division document during Republican President Eisenhower's time. Now that another Republican Party President, George Bush, will end his term in a few weeks and Democrat Bill Clinton will take the oath as the new U.S. President, Pakistan is being told once again to make hay while the sun shines.

First Israeli Ambassador Presents Credentials

93AS0280A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 27 Nov 92 p 9

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 26: Mr. Ephraim Doweik, the first Ambassador of Israel to India presented his credentials to the President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma at the Rastrapati Bhavan here on Thursday.

Warmly welcoming Israel's first ever ambassador to India, President Sharma stated that India's first ambassador to Israel Mr. P.K. Singh having presented his credentials only a few weeks ago, "both sides are now in a position to move forward in imparting the necessary momentum in our bilateral relations, to realise the considerable potential for co-operation in diverse fields such as trade and commerce, science and technology, solar energy, culture, tourism, aviation and agriculture."

Dr. Sharma further said: "We in India hold in admiration the immense progress that the people of Israel have made, especially in agriculture, irrigation, and the technological fields such as solar energy."

Concern Over PRC-Burma Cooperation Noted

92AS0281A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 20 Nov 92 p 13

[Article by Dinesh Kumar]

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 19—INDIA is deeply concerned over stepped up Sino-Myanmar (Burma) defence co-operation, especially in relation to the monitoring facility and naval bases that are being established in Myanmar with Chinese assistance.

Of immediate concern is the monitoring facility that has been set up in Myanmar's Cocos Islands, barely 15 nautical miles off the coast of the Andaman Islands, which in turn is 1500 km from the Indian mainland.

Defence sources say that China has helped Myanmar set up a powerful telescope and a radar station at this island, which will monitor all air and sea movements in that

region of the Bay of Bengal. Depending on the elevation at which it is located, the telescope has the capability of actually sighting the northern parts of the Andamans.

Myanmar has embarked on an ambitious defence expansion programme which is likely to culminate in that country raising a substantially large standing army. But of strategic importance is the possibility that China may soon be gaining unhindered access to the Indian Ocean through the several infrastructural projects it has undertaken to construct in Myanmar.

China is currently involved in building a naval base on Myanmar's Hengyi Island in the estuary of the Bassein river which will provide refuelling and maintenance facilities to Chinese vessels. It is also helping Myanmar modernise the existing naval bases at Akyab, near the Bangladesh border, and at Mergui, close to the Thai border.

Defence officials view this as China's strategy to increase its presence in the Indian Ocean by using Myanmar's ports. This is seen as a strategic initiative by China to get a presence in southeast Asia, after the settlement of the Cambodian issue.

On another front, the Sino-Myanmar nexus on the present scale could signal the sudden disappearance of the traditional buffer state on India's eastern border.

One important venture has been China constructing a 50-ton bridge across the Shweli river between Muse, in Myanmar, and Ruiti, in China, even though Myanmar had originally planned a 20-ton bridge.

According to defence analysts, China has promised to arm and equip an entire new division of the Myanmar army and to sell arms for raising 74 new battalions.

Around September 1990, the two countries reached an arms deal which included providing Myanmar a full squadron of 12 F-7 interceptor aircraft, ground-based radars and other support systems, anti-aircraft guns and four Shanghai or Hanian class patrol boats.

Before the 1988 uprising, Myanmar had a standing army of around 1.9 lakhs. In late 1990, it rose to 2.3 lakhs and by the middle of 1991, it had reached 2.8 lakhs.

By the end of this year, it is expected to cross the three lakh figure, heading for a possible target of approximately five lakh by 1995.

Developments in Relations With PRC Told

Progress on Basic Issues

93AS0252A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 4 Nov 92
p 9

[Article: "India, China Examining Moving Back Troops"; quotation marks and boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 3.—With the focus now on further stabilising the situation on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) the relations with China are expected 'to inch forward' towards gradually resolving basic issues such as the boundary question.

According to a spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs, among the confidence-building measures (CBMs) discussed, several related to de-escalation of tension through reduction of force levels. Both sides agreed to 'examine closely a pattern of moving back' forces from some forward positions lying in close proximity to each other.

Both sides discussed upgrading the level of military contacts in their respective defence establishments. It was also decided to consider reducing the military presence and the reduction of military expenditures and to encourage people-to-people contact through continuation of border trade. In this context, it was agreed to explore the possibility of opening additional border posts and routes to promote trans-border commerce.

During the visit of the Chinese Premier, Mr. Li Peng, the two sides had agreed on a meaningful dialogue to stabilise the situation on the LAC by promoting confidence-building measures. Consequently interaction between military personnel was established in February this year. Work has also begun on setting up telecommunication facilities with the aim of establishing communication links across the LAC.

China's proposal: On the boundary issue, the spokesman said that at the conceptual level China repeated its proposal of setting the issue along the principle of mutual understanding, accommodation and adjustment.

According to the spokesman, the formulation when decoded meant the Chinese desire to make some adjustments with India in the western sector and some reciprocity on India's part in the eastern side. India has shown its willingness to examine the Chinese formulation and has asked for details. Both sides, however, affirmed their commitment to arrive at any settlement through an endorsement by their respective Parliaments.

However, according to experts, on the boundary issue, India had formulated the possibility of a settlement on the principle of mutual understanding and adjustment, while China had desired ending the border row through what it calls mutual understanding and accommodation.

The spokesman said the frequency with which the JWG [Joint Working Group] meetings are being held—twice this year and the plans of future high-level exchanges showed the seriousness with which the two countries are pursuing a path to improve bilateral relations. The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Qian Qichen, is expected in India and there is a possibility of visits next year by the Chinese President, Mr. Yang Shangkun, and the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Mr. Jiang Zemin.

The spokesman added that the impression which the Chinese conveyed during the dialogue reflected a desire to reorient foreign and domestic policies anchored in a determination to modernise rapidly its economy. Consequently, China appeared to be willing to remove political irritants with its neighbours and to increase the momentum of improving relations with the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations] group and establishing a better working relationship with Japan.

Singh Visit to PRC

93AS0252B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 11 Nov 92 p 8

[Article: "Reforms in China of Interest: Arjun Singh"; quotation marks and boldface words as published]

[Text] Beijing, Nov. 10. The Human Resource Development Minister, Mr. Arjun Singh has described his visit to China as 'useful' in understanding some of the new initiatives taken by the Chinese authorities in areas such as economy, diplomacy and education.

Mr. Arjun Singh and his delegation left Beijing today for visits to Shanghai and Guangzhou. While here, he had called on Premier Li Peng and held talks with State Councillor and Minister of Education, Mr. Li Tieying.

In an interview, Mr. Arjun Singh said in more ways than one, China has been of interest to India and now with the reforms underway in both countries, there are similarities in circumstances and experiences that need to be understood.

While observing that it was necessary that both countries adapt themselves to the global thinking on the economy, Mr. Arjun Singh struck a note of caution as regards the application of reforms in India.

"We have also to take note of the conditions of a good section of the people who are below the poverty line in India, whose social, and economic needs have to be catered to in a manner so that there is no development or pressure from them which could disturb the even course of liberalisation," he said.

Turning to the diplomatic front, he said China had indicated that it "wants to move step by step definitely forward," and that India was prepared to respond in the same way.

On education, Mr. Arjun Singh said the two sides have attempted to step up mutually beneficial cooperation in specific areas such as technological research.

Mr. Arjun Singh yesterday visited Beijing University's new technology centre that is run on commercial lines in order to harness funds for the University's academic programmes.

Describing it as a "very interesting" alternative to fund-raising at a time when higher education is becoming expensive and the capacity of the State to underwrite

universities is diminishing, Mr. Arjun Singh said he had sought more details of the Beijing experiment.

Indologist honoured: In a speech at the Beijing University, Mr. Arjun Singh said the two countries shared common concerns of peace and a just international order.

"We are drawn to each other both by geographic inevitability and by the tradition of historical interactions," he said, adding that friendship was in the fundamental and long term interests of the two peoples.

The conferred "Prashasti Patra," the highest honour of the Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Varanasi, to the foremost Chinese indologist, Professor Ji Xianlin, (81) at the function.

He presented a plaque with Sanskrit inscriptions and an angavastra to Prof. Ji.

The citation read out by the Ambassador, Mr. Salman Haidar said Prof. Ji's life was "completely dedicated to the cause of building bridges between India and China through knowledge and cultural intercourse."

Prof. Ji studied Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit in Germany in the 1930s and 40s and has been teaching oriental languages and literature at China's premier institution of higher learning, Beijing University, since 1946.—PTI

Commentary Views Trade Liberalization With CIS

BK1212124*92 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 12 Dec 92

[A.C. Pandya Commentary: "Trade liberalization with Commonwealth of Independent States"]

[Text] The government has announced new policy guidelines in respect of counter trade with former USSR and now known as Commonwealth of Independent States. For the first time, the private sector is being allowed to engage in counter trade, which was hitherto the exclusive domain of public sector corporations. Counter trade can now be made in freely convertible currencies or through third countries of any item outside the negative list under the export-import policy. This is irrespective of the fact whether such items are specially included in all the trade protocols or trade agreements between the respective countries or not. Counter trade has also been allowed in respect of products whether they are included or not in any positive list prescribed by the government for the purpose.

Indian exports to the erstwhile USSR have registered a decline as heavy as 50 percent in the recent past. While one reason is the ongoing political transformation taking place in that part of the world, the other is the huge trade deficit on India's part in the period 1990-91 and in the first half of 1992-93. The control of the ultimate destination of counter trade exports could be ensured by mandating either CAF [?cost and freight] contracts or by

stipulating the production of discharge or customs clearance certificates. The objective of product diversification could be assisted by differentiated counter trade requirements depending on the competitiveness of the export goods involved. Despite the fact that counter trade has increasingly assumed north-south direction in recent years, India has not developed specialized skills at par with the massive growth of such expertise abroad with both trading houses as well as banks have accumulated considerable expertise and information in this field partly based on long experience in East-West counter trade.

In developed countries large banks have set up counter trade accounts for nearly a fifth to quarter of the global annual trade of \$3,600 billion. There is an imperative need to identify products that are difficult to export in traditional markets and to tap nontraditional markets for (new) products. Equally important is the need to enlarge the production capacities to augment export surpluses [as heard]. India has been large importer of crude from former USSR, besides fertilizers, nonferrous metals, newsprint, and industrial diamonds. Expertise in negotiating counter trade deals needs to be developed by Indian private sector trading houses. Counter trade requirements could be softened with regard to suppliers from other developing countries following the example already practised by Brazil, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Argentina. However sufficient attention needs to be paid to problems of risk management and pricing, including shadow prices and public accountability under counter trade situations. For the trading problems of the war-torn economies in the Central and Eastern Europe, counter trade emerged as a partial solution. With the economic reconstruction and prosperity, the West European economies are shedding this form of trade in favor of the free and multilateral trade, while the former USSR and East European countries maintained this. In giving consideration to counter trade proposals, the additional [as heard] of exports has to be given due weight.

Counter trade could become an important instrument in promoting intra and intra-regional trade. Counter trade is looked at more as an instrument of development, production, and long-term export strategy rather than a mere short-term trading instrument and as a supplement to normal exchanges. It is very important that adequate global commercial intelligence is built up in the private sector and high-level negotiating skills are nurtured both in the trading houses and the banks in India, as counter trade under the new dispensation is to make a meaningful thrust in India's export drive.

Regional Affairs

Action Urged To Counter Pakistani Nuclear Threat

BK1812140392 Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Nov 92
p 4

[Editorial: "Pak Nukes: Is It official?"]

[Text] A US TV network, NBC, has quoted Senator Larry Pressler as saying that Pakistan has built "at least"

seven nuclear weapons, each the size of the bomb which destroyed Hiroshima. These can be readied within a matter of hours to be flown in aircraft and dropped on targets. The disclosure has been made by the CIA of the US government which has secretly helped Pakistan, through its Commerce Department, while outwardly asking that country to desist from acquiring or making nuclear weapons. According to NBC, the Pakistanis had been insisting that their nuclear programmes, hidden in six facilities around Islamabad, were meant for energy only. "But they lied to us when we were there," another Senator John Glenn burst out angrily, adding "they said they were not making nuclear weapons. They were—we now know that." If this was perfidy on the part of Pakistan it was the same as for as the US conduct was concerned when it adopted a duplicitous public stance on this issue. Even as the US has been holding out all kinds of threats, and arm twisting to force India to sign the existing NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] on the dotted lines events show that its so-called warnings to Pakistan were interpreted by Islamabad as "a wink and nod policy." NBC has gone to the extent of saying that the Pakistan military built its arsenal with help not only of the US but also of some other Western states, "using a lot of deceit." For India, it is a serious development which brings about a material change in the security environment in the region. This country has every reason to feel concerned over the news of a probable adversary in the immediate neighbourhood possessing an arsenal lethal enough to cause at least seven Hiroshimas. India can rightly ask which countries are going to be the targets of the "Islamic" atom bombs? Certainly not any of the Islamic crescent countries or China. Reacting to the disclosure, a Pakistan government spokesman stated that his country "faced a threat from India." Years ago, the late Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto stated that Pakistanis would "eat grass" but would meet India's nuclear capability. India has not acquired nuclear weapons and Pakistanis have not had to eat grass to possess the nukes. The West's indulgence and West Asian money have enabled Islamabad to obtain by stealth and deceit the design and sensitive equipment for the bomb. It is time to review what is going to be India's strategic response to the extreme threat to this country's security. Ever since China detonated its first nuclear device in October 1964, the need for such a review has been felt widely. In view of the latest disclosure which has a direct bearing on this country's security, it necessary for the government to take the people into confidence on how it proposes to meet the threat from a military nuclear Pakistan. There is nothing in the American statements on the subject that the US decision takers repent the fact that they were a willing party to a conspiracy which changed the regional security conditions to India's detriment.

Change in Navy Day Suggested To Aid Pakistan Ties

BK1812134192 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
8 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by C. Uday Bhaskar]

[Text] Navy Day is celebrated on December 4. On this day the Indian Navy (IN) recalls with legitimate pride the exploits of the missile boats and their daring attack on Karachi harbour on December 4, 1971.

Admiral Charles Nanda, then Chief of the Naval Staff (CNS) rewrote naval tactics with the sheer audacity of his plan and this success boosted the morale of the nation and its yet untested navy.

The IN, the smallest of the three armed forces, had not really been blooded in combat till then and it was only right that in the immediate aftermath, the IN celebrate the day in a special manner. (Armed forces are trained to fight and win wars and this part of their professional calling cannot be diluted with misplaced pacifism. To that extent the exploits of Commodore Babru Yadav and his men in the missile boat squadron should be given their due to inspire those who follow in their wake).

However, with the passage of time and the changed security ambience the world over, there may be a case to review the validity of holding Navy Day on December 4. Without in any way diluting the heroic effort of 1971, by celebrating December 4 as Navy Day the IN may have inadvertently circumscribed itself. It is repeatedly emphasised in every forum that Pakistan is not the only threat or determinant in India's security calculus. The IN, has very rightly, over the decades refused to be limited by a single-point threat perception in its planning and this stand has been vindicated with the end of the Cold War. Major naval powers who justified their very existence on the Soviet threat were rendered rudder (threat)-less and now say what the IN has been saying all along, namely that navies are not nurtured or rationalised on a fixed image threat perception. Therefore in focussing upon December 4 as Navy Day, the IN may be limiting its ambit to Pakistan, which is misleading and counter-productive.

Another contradictory strain emerges if we note the IN's more recent initiatives. Regional Naval Co-operation (RNC) that was mooted by CNS Admiral Ramdas has seized the imagination of the maritime world—and may have caught a few unawares, for India has rarely been associated with radical maritime initiatives. In its essence, RNC envisages a co-operative, regional maritime interaction based on equality, trust and amity that would be mutually beneficial to member states.

However for this to fructify, the entire region including Pakistan must interact on the same grid. Thus to recall a decisive victory scored over our neighbour on one hand, while seeking to improve the quality of the bilateral dialogue at another level will be a contradiction. As it is Pakistan has an identity crisis vis-a-vis India and the humiliation of 1971 is deeply embedded in its national psyche. To assuage sensitivities of Pakistan India could consider a few first steps. Changing Navy Day from December 4 could be the first initiative. Not only would

this change of date liberate the IN from a perceived Pakistani orientation, it may give India's RNC proposal a fillip.

As far as December 4 is concerned, it could become a Battle Honours Day for the missile boats or the Western Fleet as deemed apt. Navy Day in turn could be shifted to September 5 after the formation of the Indian Marine (in 1612) or April 22 when the first Indian officer, Admiral R. D. Kothari assumed the office of the CNS (in 1958). (The Indian Army follows the latter practice while the Air Force traces its origins to October 8, 1932).

Infiltration From Neighboring Countries Viewed

Bangladeshis Should Be Deported

93AS0300A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 1 Dec 92
p 6

[Article by Pramod Diwedi: "The Infiltrating Guests Are Getting Stuck in Our Throats"]

[Text] A very dangerous consensus is developing among the politicians, editors, and intellectuals in Bangladesh. They all agree on one issue, and that is to help as many Bangladeshis as possible to illegally enter India. They have announced their full support to Khaleda Zia's government over it. The opposition and the religious groups of Bangladesh have also clearly said that India's "Operation Pull Back" [as published] will not only be opposed at an international level, but the returned Bangladeshis will be pushed back into India again.

This anti-India attitude and the conspiracy that has evolved in Bangladesh has made it clear that it will not be easy for India to return these "unwanted guests." The situation seems to be very serious, because the number of these infiltrators has reached tens of millions. At this time, Bangladeshi intellectuals and leaders have agreed to follow the "living space" theory to support the illegal immigration of Bangladeshis into India. According to it, it is legitimate for Bangladeshi citizens to occupy the Indian region, and it is their historical right also.

They say that the Bangladeshis have a full right to occupy specific regions in India. After this process of infiltration is successful, the path to starting a campaign for "separate Bang Bhumi" will be paved. According to confidential sources, these infiltrators have formed an organization called the "Independent Bang Bhumi Council" and have formed a plan following the order of their Bangladeshi bosses to create Bang Bhumi composed of areas from West Bengal, Bihar, Tripura, and other north-eastern states. The Bangladesh National Party, the Jamaat-i Islami, the Freedom Party, and the Yuva Command are all supporting this organization. It is important to mention here that the left-wing Patriotic Democratic Front and five other parties in a coalition have threatened India that if the Bangladeshis are pushed back, a case will be presented to the United Nations. Prime Minister Khaleda Zia announced to

newsmen on 7 October that she will not tolerate "Operation Push Back." Before it, during a May trip to India, she openly announced that there was not even one Bangladeshi in India. It was clear from her claim that the illegal immigrants in India were Indian citizens. That is why Khaleda Zia refuses to refer to the 132 infiltrators sent back from India as Bangladeshis. She accuses that Indians of suspicious character are being sent to Bangladesh under the guise of Bangladeshi citizens.

It is obvious that this "denial" by Bangladesh is part of a well organized plan. Intellectuals, leaders, and alert citizens know that if the Bangladeshi citizens who were sent away from India were accepted back, then they would be opening themselves to an incessant series of returns of Bangladeshis. Accepting these would make the situation in the country even worse. Trying to make arrangements for tens of millions of new people would be detrimental to the interests of the country. In addition, scientists have announced that there will be an increase of 50 million in Bangladesh's population during the next 10 years. Making arrangements for their food and living is out of the question; even having enough food for them is difficult. It is obvious that in such a situation, tens of millions of Bangladeshis will start to return to the hospitable country of India. As a result, the number of illegal Bangladeshis in India will reach 40 million by the year 2000. In other words, in addition to the present "guests," tens of millions of new immigrants will disrupt India's economy.

We do not know whether or not the Indian Government knows, but the Bangladeshi government knows that the slogans of *Bang Bhumi* will be successful only if they increase illegal immigration during the next few years. At the present time, the situation is such that India's claim to push the infiltrators back to Sonar Bangla seems to be meaningless. The reason for this is that the number of infiltrators in India has reached 20 million. These unwanted guests are prospering in our capital of Delhi, as well as in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and other cities. Their population is increasing rapidly in West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and Tripura.

These are unofficial statistics, and our government thinks there are only a few hundred thousand illegal immigrants. In other words, it claims to be successful. In December 1991, Home Minister Jacob told Parliament that there were only 100,000 Bangladeshis living in Delhi. He claimed that their number in West Bengal was 587,000. Meanwhile, the Bangladeshi *muhajir* organization claims that there are only 500,000 Bangladeshis in India. The Congress government refuses to accept the bitter truth of this illegal immigration because its leaders and Cabinet members are involved in the "game." In the same way the Marxists encourage illegal immigration in West Bengal, the Congressites encourage Bangladeshis in other states. Mr. Billal Mian, a state minister in Tripura, and leaders of his party have openly claimed that they were rehabilitating Bangladeshis in that region.

Mr. Tapan Sikdas, president of West Bengal's BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], goes as far as to say that the Marxist government and its workers not only encourage illegal immigration by Bangladeshis, but also provide them full citizenship. The Bangladeshis almost control Nadia, Lalgola, Rahanpur, Sitai, and Gitaldah because of their support. The Hindu population in this region is leaning toward Hindu parties because of terrorism. It is obvious that West Bengal and other states can be controlled only when leaders of all parties agree to it. However, it appears almost impossible at this time. Some parties were forced out of greed for wholesale votes to adopt this cruel method. These leaders do not support the idea of expelling these infiltrators.

One thing is clear. If we showed any hesitance or "humanity" in sending these Bangladeshis back, then there would be a new problem of separatism in India. It would become very difficult to deal with, because this storm will ride on the tide of minority. Our country's Muslim organizations and Islamic organizations from outside will support them openly. Keeping this in mind, the "Operation Push Back" against the Bangladeshis must continue.

Terrorists Entering From Nepal

93AS0300B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 30 Nov 92
p 1

[News Story: "Everyone is Afraid of Terrorists"]

[Text] New Delhi, 29 November—In the Tarai region of Uttar Pradesh, police forces fighting the terrorists dress in civilian clothes because they become easy targets for terrorists when in uniform. Mr. Ajay Singh Rawat, chairman of Kumaon University's history department, visited this area in connection with the Nehru Memorial Museum Library plan here and learned that the campaign against terrorists in Tarai have not been successful.

Dr. Rawat said in his report that the police fighting the terrorists are so scared that they cannot even wear their uniforms. They are afraid to stay in the police stations after sunset. Dr. Rawat also claims that the situation in Tarai is expected to get worse, because the way the officials are trying to control the situation is ineffective. At the same time, the security forces working to control the terrorists are not collaborating with each other and the disappointment felt among the people is deteriorating the situation.

Dr. Rawat also claims that the UP [Uttar Pradesh] police (special force), border security force, central reserve police force, and state armed police force, all working against terrorists, are not cooperating with each other. In addition, midlevel appointments in Tarai are made by politicians. Because of this, the officials do not have the moral courage to fight the terrorists. He also said that the police officials appointed to top positions are often transferred from one place to another.

Dr. Rawat admits that innocent people coming from Punjab are tormented, and these people are getting more and more disappointed, and this has adversely affected the campaign against terrorists. He said that people who moved here 40 years ago are treated badly by the police. Political and social leaders are also afraid and avoid criticizing the terrorists openly. Dr. Rawat suggested that the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) should be ordered to investigate the extreme activities of the police in order to reinstate the confidence of the people.

Dr. Rawat accused in his document that the energy of the security force appointed to Tarai is being wasted. There is no combined policy to achieve their goals. In the offices of the central and state forces, there is a lot of conflict due to egos, and even an average recruit is frustrated. He has suggested that there should be only one inspector-level officer in terrorist-affected areas. That inspector should be stationed in the region instead of administering the campaign from another area. Dr. Rawat said there is one other problem: The local police are not sufficiently equipped to deal with the present situation. They have traditional weapons, and their transport vehicles are very old. In contrast, the terrorists have training in the use of modern weapons.

Dr. Rawat believes that the extreme activities of the police are forcing the local people to be sympathetic to the terrorists. This has increased the danger of unemployed youth joining the terrorist groups. He claims that there is plenty of evidence to prove this allegation. The terrorists are using Boxa aborigines to help them. He has suggested that to prevent these aborigines from becoming tools in the hands of the terrorists, they should be recruited to a special work force. Because they are knowledgeable of this region, they could be a special asset to the government. The report also says that the units working against the terrorists are not well trained. In addition, the "timber mafia" and terrorists have joined forces, and are cleaning up the jungles. He also claims that crime is on the rise behind the facade of terrorism.

Internal Affairs

Social Disorder Seen Spreading in Jammu-Kashmir

93AS0216B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 20 Nov 92
p 4

[Article by Manik Bhattacharya: "The role of Social Disorder in Jammu-Kashmir"]

[Text] Three years ago, a difficult situation developed unexpectedly in Jammu-Kashmir when the terrorist organizations with Pakistan's encouragement gave their separatist organizations the facade of communalism. It is debatable whether the hold of the terrorists would have weakened or become stronger if Governor Jagmohan was not forced to return while he was on his way to

Kashmir. However, the minority population of the Valley—Hindus and Sikhs—had to bear the brunt of these terrorist widespread attacks. The Sikhs were safe to an extent because of Akali politics, however, the Kashmiri Pundits [Hindus in Kashmir] had no alternative but to flee. At that time the problem was limited to dealing with the few terrorist groups, returning the 150,000 Hindu refugees to Kashmir safely, and making arrangements for their short-term support.

This problem has now spilled over into Jammu and Laddakh. The truth is that new problems that have risen in Jammu and Laddakh are helping the terrorists directly or indirectly. The Hindu-Muslim problem of Kashmir is staring at us in the form of Buddhist-Muslim and Hindu-Hindu confrontations.

What is this Jammu element of the Kashmir problem? In 1991, about 40,000 Kashmiri fled here leaving their homes and businesses. Eighty percent of these were Kashmiri Pundits. About 4,000 or 5,000 Sikh and Hindu families took refuge in Delhi and other cities in India, however, most of them stayed in Jammu. There were many reasons for this. At that time, these people believed that the Indian Government would not become helpless against the terrorists, and they would be able to return home within a year. A large percentage of the refugees was working for the government and they had no alternative but to stay close by. The Central government also wanted to keep these people in Jammu. In spite of its unclear and directionless strategy, the Indian leaders believed that the Valley totally without the Hindus was not in the interest of India. In the beginning, there were unwritten directives that the refugees working for the Central government would not be transferred out of Jammu-Kashmir. When the government banks made such transfers to other parts of the country, these were temporary and based on need. There were communal riots in southern Kashmir in 1986 when Ghulam Mohammad Shah headed the government there. The important fact to know is that the riots started in Jammu itself. The trouble started over the question of building a mosque in the court of the secretariat. Some Muslims rode in buses and trucks to Srinagar and attacked the minority Hindus in villages in Anantnag district. This shook up the faith of Kashmiri Pundits. Under these circumstances, many Hindus bought land and built homes in Jammu and Udhampur. Four years after the first major exodus, these people returned to their houses in Jammu. All of these factors forced the Kashmir Pundits to remain in Jammu.

The special thing about the Kashmir Pundits is that they have a long tradition of education. That is why they held majority of government jobs from the times of Sikh rule to Sheikh Abdulla's time. Sheikh Abdulla began to recruit people from other communities after independence, however, only the Muslims of the Kashmir Valley benefitted from it. Most of the people in Jammu were ignored just like in the past. One reason for this was that the government was controlled by Kashmiri Muslims. The other reason was the Sheikh Abdulla was challenged

by the people in Jammu. The Praja Parishad under the leadership of Pundit Premnath Dogra had raised the slogan, "One Constitution and One Flag" to oppose the special treatment under Article 370 that was given to Kashmir. Sheikh Abdulla was bitter toward Jammu since 1952 and this attitude had become a staple in Kashmiri politics. Laddakh was never even considered a candidate for development projects or participation in politics. For decades, there were not even two or four top officials from Laddakh in the Kashmir government.

Even though the number of Kashmiri Hindus working in the Jammu-Kashmir government was comparatively smaller, it was still higher when compared to various groups. After the land reforms, they did not have much land left and they were not interested in going into business. All that was left for them was joining government service. The almost 100-percent literacy rate and dependence on government jobs that used to be the specialty of this group, became the cause of problems. There was discontent in Jammu over the Kashmiri monopoly. When the Kashmir Pundits arrived in Jammu, some politicians started to say that they would steal the jobs that the Jammu people had. The people in Jammu easily believed that because of the tradition of good education among the Kashmiri Pundits. They were worried that they would have to compete with the Kashmiris for these jobs. This resulted in undeclared anger. The already ravaged Kashmiri Pundits became unwanted guests in Jammu.

This hatred was mostly based on misunderstandings. Some of these misunderstandings were caused by the local Jammu politics and some because of the belief that the Indian government was giving in to Kashmiri terrorists. During the last three years, most of the Kashmiri Pundits have either quit their jobs or have retired. During the next three years, about 50 percent of the Kashmiri Pundits will retire. Since no new jobs are available, their number in government service will decrease considerably. This will prove groundless the fear that Jammu people would lose jobs. The problem in the area of education is still there. The reason is that the government never took much interest in education in Jammu. Incidentally, the Jammu business community, which is mostly made up of Sikhs rather than the local Dogras, has the monopoly over technical education. Admission of Kashmiri refugees to engineering and medical institutions appeared detrimental to their interests. The government would have easily resolved this issue, if it desired, by opening more colleges. However, the same elements that never have any interest in improving the situation there are controlling Kashmir. Unfortunately, the Kashmiri refugees are also suffering from the confrontation between the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Congress (I). The BJP is practicing the politics of removing hatred and the Congress (I) wants to maintain the status quo. The Congress (I) is keeping the question of Jammu's autonomy as its secret weapon. This resulted in the birth of Shiv Sena. While it

is called a separate group, in actuality the Congress (I) and some non-Dogra groups use it for their vested interests.

During this time, many other groups have merged. These have nothing to do with autonomy of the state or nationalism. These groups have relations with the Kashmiri terrorists. Because of the ambiguous policy of the Indian Government, the government in the Valley is controlled by the terrorists. Now, the illegal entry of the terrorists in Doda and Punch regions has made this border area of Jammu very unstable. Actually, this is the next phase of Pakistan's "Operation Topaz." The first phase of this strategy developed during Ziaul Haq's time was completed in 1989. The goal was to spread anarchy in the Valley with the help of trained terrorists. The second phase was to infiltrate government departments. The goal was to get their own people appointed not only in the Valley but also in Laddakh and Jammu. This strategy was not very successful in Laddakh, but it was very successful in Jammu. The main goal of the second phase is to spread anarchy in the whole region from Doda to Banihal.

Another dimension was added because of the Kashmiri refugees. Continuous disruptions in relief work for the refugees that resulted in starvation and getting the examinations postponed so that students are not able to get jobs have become a common occurrence. Spreading terrorism by blasting bombs under "Operation Topaz" started in Jammu and neighboring areas last year. This happened rapidly between Doda and Banihal's communication tower. Efforts were made to create a pro-Pakistan atmosphere in Jammu by holding rallies and meetings. It was natural that these efforts bore fruit. The BJP and other parties opposed this vigorously. It has become imperative that the anger of worried non-Muslim communities in Jammu be directed toward other targets.

A few days ago, a bomb exploded at an examination center in Jammu. One of the two young boys who had planted the bomb was killed on the spot. Both of them were Kashmiri Pundits. The Kashmiri Pundit youth are bitter because of years of poverty and restrictions. Their future is dismal because of the continued postponement of examinations. In their frustration, they had stupidly blasted the bomb to show their anger. Of course, the local population was outraged, and it was natural that they demand an investigation of this conspiracy. This was an invaluable opportunity for the separatists and vested interests to hide the dozens of murders committed by the terrorists. In no time, it was announced that the refugees have become terrorists and they were involved in terrorism activities against the local people in Jammu. One separatist group issued a statement that these refugees were responsible for all the bomb blasts and assassinations. The prevalent dissatisfaction and anger of Jammu people was very cleverly directed toward the refugees. This was the greatest victory of the "Operation Topaz."

The Jammu-Kashmir situation has been getting more and more complicated during the last three years. It is unfortunate that every action of the Indian Government in this false war was wrong. Every step and action of the separatists was successful in achieving its goal. Complaints of every group in this state are correct to an extent. The people in the Valley who do not agree with the terrorists are helpless because they do not have government's protection. The displaced people from the Valley are helpless because they are being made the targets of communal hatred and government apathy. The people in Jammu are passing through a period of uncertainty. They feel that their future along with the Valley of Kashmir is becoming dismal. The government should be in the witness box of the people. However, it appears that the government has put all the people in the witness box!

Papers Report Developments in Punjab

Election Date Given

93AS0278A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
24 Nov 92 p 9

[Text] CHANDIGARH, Nov. 23—The long-overdue panchayat elections in Punjab will be held from January 19 to 25 next year, reports UNI.

This was decided at a meeting of the State Congress(I) executive, party MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly], M.P.s and Ministers held under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, Mr. Beant Singh.

Announcing this at a Press conference here today Mr. Singh, who is also the State party president, said the elections would be held with the present strength of the security forces and no additional forces would be requisitioned.

Panchayat elections were last held in the State in 1982, under the Chief Ministership of Mr. Darbara Singh.

He said the panchayat elections would be held on the basis of the electoral rolls for the Assembly elections of February last year. He said the process of elections would start simultaneously in the entire State.

Militants Still Powerful

93AS0278B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 21 Nov 92 p 14

[Article by Surinder Awasthi]

[Text] CHANDIGARH, November 20—DESPITE serious reverses, militant outfits in Punjab still retain considerable firepower if the recent seizures of weapons are any indication.

Only last week, the security forces recovered about 590 kg. of explosives, 20 assault rifles, 45 plastic bombs and some other arms.

So far this year, the security forces have recovered over 20 quintals of explosives, more than 800 rifles and over 55,000 rounds of ammunition from the militants and their hideouts. This is just a fraction of the militants' arsenal.

Intelligence agencies report that the militants have over 1,500 AK rifles and three tonnes of explosives.

The sources of weapon supply are still active. Despite fencing and flood-lighting, some parts of the border remain vulnerable to incursions by militants with consignments. Allegedly because of laxity on the part of BSF [Border Security Force] patrolling parties. Weapons are also smuggled in through the border in Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

Evidently, the weapons are available, though not in the same quantity. But there are fewer men to wield these weapons. Intelligence reports indicate that fresh recruitment to militant ranks has declined, mainly because of the unrelenting pressure of the security forces.

The political atmosphere has undergone a sea change. No longer are dead militants eulogised at their bhog ceremonies. The civil administration has started asserting itself. The militants, who have either gone into hiding or left for other states, have little opportunity to persuade or coerce youths to join their rank.

Unlike in the past, the manpower losses of the militant outfits are not being compensated by new blood.

During the first 10 months of the current year, over 3,000 militants were neutralised—1,733 militants, 107 of them hardcore, were killed and about 1,256 were arrested. That leaves more than 100 hardcore listed militants who are still at large, besides many others who are unlisted and not hardcore militants.

Almost all the militant outfits have suffered though some still retain their tremendous potential. The elimination of the Babbar Khalsa international chief, Sukhdev Singh Babbar, and the ideological advantage that the government derived from the well-publicised surrender of the U.K.-based Babbar leader, Baldev Singh Sibbia, and the killing of Talwinder Singh Parmar, heading the other faction, had given a big jolt to the Babbar Khalsa International (BKI).

However, the BKI is a well-knit, cadre-based organisation and enjoys tremendous support abroad with a number of friends to spread its message. Its leadership has political ambitions. The recent losses have not seriously affected the organisation's resources and its support base. The strategy of the outfit for the time being is to lie low and strengthen its underground network.

The formidable combination of four outfits—Khalistan Liberation Force (KLF), Khalistan Commandos Force (KCF-Panjwar), Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTFK-Chinda) and the Sikh Students' Federation (Daljit Bittu group)—has lost its main striking line-up, but others have stepped in.

The KLF which lost its chief, Gurjant Singh Budhsingh-wala, is now headed by the more educated and articulate Dr. Pritam Singh Sekhon.

The KCF is still led by Paramjit Singh Panjwar though many of his hitmen have been wiped out. The SSF (Bittu) is still a force to reckon with. But the militant outfits owing allegiance to the Damdami Taksal—the BTFK (Manochahal) and the KCF (Wassan Singh Zafarwal)—have been nearly decimated during the second half of the year.

Bihar Said Slipping Increasingly Behind Rest of Nation

93AS0196A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 9 Nov 92
p 5

[Article by Akhilesh Akhil: "Bihar Becomes More Backward Each Day"]

[Text] Bihar is a very backward state of our nation. This state was neglected during the last four decades and this neglect has resulted in the economy becoming an alarming issue. Population is increasing rapidly, income is unstable, and the whole structure has become very weak. Regional inequities continued to increase and living standards continued to get worse. All in all, we can say that Bihar's economy after the independence has worsened instead of getting better.

Among the backward states, Bihar was the greatest prey of inequitable share in the implemented developmental plans since 1951. The way the Center managed the economy widened the economic differences between the states instead of reducing them.

After determining the growth during the 1950-51 and 1977-78 and comparing it with other related states, a special rank was given to Bihar to provide it better developmental plans. However, in 1980-81, a mixed standard was adopted. This standard was based on percentage of literacy, per capita foodgrains production, per capita industrial production, irrigated portion of arable land, per capita consumption, number of students in elementary school per thousand population, number of hospitals per 1,000 square kilometers, and roads built in per 1,000 square kilometers. It is clear that the ranks given to states in 1980-81 represented their physical levels. Various inequities in development clearly indicate that all this happened because poorer states were given less resources.

In spite of its being an agricultural state, Bihar has yet to see any agricultural reforms implemented here. Per hectare production in Bihar has been diminishing. At the same time, crops production also decreased. The lack of agricultural development in Bihar indicates that Bihar did not benefit from agricultural developmental plans unlike the rest of the nation. The state is facing many problems because of our failure in the area of agriculture.

Problems in the rural areas have increased. The agricultural production is usually uncertain as it depends on the nature. As the result of it, poverty and unemployment have increased in the state.

The major barriers in improving agricultural production are the traditions and the structure here. However, the major reason for meager agricultural production is the lack of a basic agricultural structure in the state. We still do not have irrigation and electricity available on a large scale.

It does not mean that nothing has been done to develop agriculture in Bihar. The first step taken in the area of improving agricultural production was reform in land ownership. Bihar was the first state after independence to eradicate the landlord system. In addition to removing the landlord system, ceiling on land holdings was also established to stop unfair distribution of land.

There have been no dearth of laws to reform the agricultural system, however, this state is very much behind in implementing those laws. At present, except for removing the landlord system, no other reforms have any effect in rural areas.

Another problem in reforming the agricultural system in Bihar is the lack of irrigation facilities. The reason for this is that we did not utilize our irrigation sources during the "planning" period. There are enough sources for irrigation in northern Bihar to irrigate the whole land under cultivation and increase production. The monies spent on irrigation until now have been ineffective and unproductive. We still suffer from the destruction by floods and curse of draught.

Industrial production in Bihar rose by 3 percent during the last four decades. Compared to it, the rate of national growth in this area is double or 6 percent. This difference in the rise of economy in the state and the whole nation looks scary and cannot be ignored. Not only is the industrial growth rate in Bihar slow but the living standards here have also fallen.

In Bihar, there are either too many workers in one area or too few in the other. In addition, most of the industries here are operating at loss.

If we investigate the reasons for Bihar's backwardness in industrial growth, we will learn that the policy adopted for issuing industrial licenses is not helpful. Depending on the region, in addition to capital and the market, you must have labor available. It is hard to have a large number of laborers available in an agricultural economy.

Commercial banks and financial organizations play a very important role in a region's industrialization. Unavailability of electric power is also a major hurdle in industrial growth.

The report submitted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, on "the possibilities of industrial development in Bihar," has pointed out two goals for future industrial development plans.

The first goal is for the state to find employment for the 65 million unemployed persons in the state and the second is to increase the state income by at least 5.5 percent per annum.

This report details the possibilities of establishing major and midrange industries in Baironi, Darbhanga, Naugachhia, Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, and Betia. At the same time, emphasis is given to increase agricultural and small-scale industries.

Facets of Temple-Mosque Controversy Examined

93AS00198A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 11 Nov 92 p 4

[Article by Rahul Bhardwaj: "Mandir-Masjid in a Quagmire of Three-Sided Politics"]

[Text] The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the Babri Masjid Actions Committee, and the Home Ministry met again on the 3rd and 16th of October to find a solution to this problem. The home minister took a visible part in this meeting held after one and a half years. Earlier, the home minister of the Chandrashekar government, Subodh Kant Sahay, invited both groups to a meeting on 6 February 1991. In this meeting, Kishore Kunal, his special assistant from the home ministry, played a very important role. For this reason, Mr. Sahay and Kishore Kunal were also invited to the meetings held on 3 and 16 October 1992. Mr. Ashoka Singhal, the VHP leader, participated in the three-party talks for the first time during the 3 and 16 October meetings because the VHP is under great pressure from the sadhus and other holy men to build the temple shortly. In addition, the VHP historians have collected many proofs of the presence of the temple on this site before 1528.

The truth is that it is the government's job to resolve this issue now. Either it should allow the courts to work impartially or it should force the representatives of both groups to sit at a table and resolve the issue. However, the government rapaciously wants the votes of both groups and is trying to delay resolving the issue. While the leaders of the Babri Masjid Action Committee appear to be showing good discretion, Mr. Shahabuddin of the Raabta Committee and Ali Mian, president of the All India Muslim Personal Law Board, are showing a very different attitude about this problem. Their whole business is carried out by scaring the Muslims about the dangers their religion is facing. For this reason, they are not very interested in resolving this issue. However, Ali Mian is a scholarly man and his inflexibility is unfortunate, especially when there is the question of the feelings of a large number of people. He does not believe that any discussion can be held over a mosque. According to him once a mosque is built, it is going to be a mosque indefinitely.

From one perspective, the government now appears to be very serious about this issue. Perhaps, this is caused by the warning issued by the holy men. It is true, however, that the prime minister is very serious about it. The prime minister had started to work on it on 15 July

1992, when the holy men had given the prime minister the ultimatum to build the temple within three months. When his cabinet secretary, Naresh Chand, retired, an Ayodhya cell was established under his supervision. This cell is working directly from the prime minister's own office. Several intelligence officials in addition to Home Secretary Madhav Godbole have been appointed to this group. The initiatives at the political level were started as the result of this cell's efforts. Thus, the VHP and the Babri Masjid Action Committee were invited to attend the meeting.

The 3 October meeting was very successful. In this four-hour meeting, it was decided that the proofs presented by the either side be provided to the opposing side. On 16 October, both sides were to return with written responses to these proofs. If any additional proofs were found, these were to be presented at the 16 October meeting. In order to keep peace between the two groups during this period, Shankar Rao Chavhan, Central home minister; Sharad Pawar, defense minister; P. Kumarmanglam, parliamentary secretary; and all officials associated with the Ayodhya issue attended a meeting on 1 October [as published]. Babri Prasad Topniwal, Ashoka Shinghal, Shrichander Dixit, Onkar Bhawe, and Devkinandan Aggarwal represented the VHP. Dr. S.P. Gupta, Dr. B.R. Grover, Dharamvir Sehgal, Dr. Devendar Swarup, and Dr. Harash Narayn appeared as experts representing the VHP. Sultan Salauddin Ovesi, Sayyed Ahmed Bukhari, Jafferbhav Jailaini, Javed Habib, Azam Khan, Muzaffar Hasan Kachhochvi, Shafiqul Rehman Baraq, Idris Bastavi, and Abu Barqat Bazmi represented the Babri Masjid Action Committee. The experts representing the committee were: Dr. R.S. Sharma, Ithar Ali, Suraj Bhan, and Dr. D.N. Jha.

This meeting started in a very congenial atmosphere and the Babri Masjid Action Committee hinted that it was in the mood to resolve this issue. If the VHP proves that the Babri Masjid was built the temple was destroyed, it would move the mosque from there and offer the place to the Hindus. A lot of arguments took place in the second meeting held on 16 October. Both sides were still emphasizing that the issue should be resolved by talks. However, the proof that each group presented to strengthen their arguments was declared totally baseless by the other group. For example, the excavations carried out by B.B. Lal of the Department of Archaeology were declared wrong by the Action Committee. The VHP declared that Muslims considered the Babri Masjid the symbol of a group's victory rather than a place of worship. In other words, both groups as well as the government appeared to be in the mood to postpone the issue again.

The Babri Masjid Action Committee argues that if the Babri Masjid was built after demolishing the temple, why didn't the poets, especially Ram devotee poets of that period, mention this fact in their work. They asked why didn't Tulsi Das mention the destruction of Ram Janambhumi. He was the greatest devotee of Lord Ram

during the middle period. He has written details of that period in his *Vinaypatrika*. Second, Akbar came after Babar, and even the VHP people admit that Akbar returned many mosques that were built by demolishing temples back to the Hindus. Why didn't any holy man, or Hindu leader or Akbar say anything about it? Third, Babar's diary is included in *Babarnama* book. Why is there no mention of demolishing temple in Ram Janambhumi even though there is a mention of Commander Mir Baki's victory over Ayodhya in that book.

These questions raised by Babri Masjid Action Committee do carry weight. However, it is not paying attention to the barbarism of the middle period. During that period, looters, rogues, and empire-hungry wolves from Central Asia looted India thoroughly. This practice started hundreds of years before Islam was born. Islam arrived in India during the 11th to 12th centuries. However, those looters who wanted to establish their empire in India also arrived behind the facade of spreading Islam. Islam was first brought to India by the Sufi saints who had affected even the Hindus with their love and good will. Islam, however, was just an excuse for the looters and invaders. They did build mosques, not because of love for Islam but as a tribute to their victories.

Babar was really a great ruler. He took care of his people and loved even his Hindu subjects. However, when he won Ayodhya, his commander Mir Baqi had to fight those Hindus who had faith in thousands of statues of their deities for which they were fighting. Mir Baqi definitely must have destroyed some temples. As for the reasoning as to why Tulsi Das did not raise this issue. First one must understand that Tulsi Das called Rama "parushotam" [best among men] and a reincarnation of God. His work was not tied to a specific place. Therefore, he did not mention Ram Janambhumi or breaking of the temple.

The solution to the Ram Janambhumi Ayodhya issue can neither be found in history nor in courts. The governments use this issue for their own vested interests. It would be better for our Muslim brothers to recognize the truth about Babri Masjid and the Hindus give up their stubborn attitude. They should find a way by sitting together and discussing it.

Chandra Shekhar Interviewed on Crisis in Ayodhya

93AS0215A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 17 Nov 92
p 5

[Former prime minister Chandra Shekhar interviewed by Kumar Anand; place and date not given: "If Rajiv Had Not Interfered, a Solution Would Have Been Reached on Ayodhya"]

[Text] The Chairman of the Samajwadi Janata Party, Mr. Chandra Shekhar during his tenure as the prime minister tried most profoundly to resolve this nagging issue. This singular fact has been publicly acknowledged

both by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and the opposition leader Mr. Lal Krishna Advani. They also believe that if Chandra Shekhar had a little more time then this three and one-half century old burning dispute full of hatred would have been transformed into an exemplary monument of friendship. But it did not happen. The dark clouds looming high from this issue seem to have eclipsed the astute thinking of this country. The success of the official efforts to solve this issue appears doubtful. How did Chandra Shekhar pave the way to a solution? What were those elements that let the success slip? Where and in what respect are the current prime minister's efforts lacking? What is he overlooking? To probe such questions Ram Bahadur Rai, chief of JANSATTA's News Bureau and Special Correspondent Kumar Anand interviewed former prime minister Chandra Shekhar.

A majority of the people close to the chairman of the Samajwadi Janata Party, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, believe that during his tenure as prime minister he was very close to a solution. He had virtually decided to refer the issue to the Supreme Court, a potential decision now resolutely sought by the present government. Chandra Shekhar said, "That it was not only virtually decided, but it was the decision." His government was a puppet in the hands of the Congress. Rajiv Gandhi, then the supreme leader of the Congress, had asked him to wait for a while. After this short pause, his government was removed from office, otherwise this sad issue would have ended once for all.

Chandra Shekhar when asked as to why did Rajiv Gandhi stop you, responded, "Because he wanted to discuss the issue, he asked me to wait for a few days." After that your government was dissolved? The response was, "Yes."

[Anand] Were you considering referring the issue to the Supreme Court under Article 143 of the Constitution?

[Shekhar] We discussed that option but forget it for now. The legal pundits had two opinions on that. Some maintained that the issue should be referred for legal advice. Others suggested that it should be so worded that implementation of the legal opinion becomes a requirement. At that time the leader of the Congress party tried to prolong this debate.

[Anand] That means a final decision was not made.

[Shekhar] A final decision was made, but we were not able to transmit it to the Supreme Court in time.

[Anand] But you mentioned about two opinions...

[Shekhar] That was an academic discussion. The decision may have been based on the advice of an adviser. Recently the Supreme Court issued an opinion that was not acted on. The Supreme Court is not going to enforce its decision, it is the duty of the government. Sometimes an opinion given by the Supreme Court needs to be enforced and at the same time an order issued by the

Supreme Court may be ignored. The enforcement responsibility for both (the opinions and orders) rests with the executive branch. I believed that the government had the ability to enforce a Supreme Court decision. And if it was then acted upon, the issue would have been silenced.

[Anand] What fundamental differences do you perceive in the efforts of your and the present governments?

[Shekhar] During those days we did not have any general dissensions. Nobody said that I said this and the prime minister said that. These days whatever is said one day is denied the next day. For some reason, either government officials stay silent or the opposition stays quiet. Such was not the case at that time. Whatever was said at that time was acceptable to all. The question of confidence, during the resolution process of issues like this assumes a greater importance.

[Anand] What was the position taken by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Hindu Vishav Parishad [VHP] as compared to their present view?

[Shekhar] It is very difficult to say. If someone contradicts my past statements, then I don't have any written proof. The BJP, Hindu Vishav Parishad and the Babri Mosque Action Committee all were very cooperative.

[Anand] Recently while speaking to reporters in the capital the prime minister said that if Chandra Shekhar had a little more time, the issue would have been resolved. On August 19, I travelled to Balia with him in the pursuit of understanding as to how he initiated his efforts to solve the issue. Do you feel that the prime minister picked up from where you had left off?

[Shekhar] The entire context has changed. I told the prime minister that the revival of history is not possible. Present circumstances are different. It would be wrong to say that the prime minister could have started from where I stopped. At that time, when the talks started everyone had stopped pointing fingers. Everyone including the religious leaders were ready to cooperate. The interest of the international forces, then, was for extending their cooperation. Today you see counter accusations in the press. The foreign countries are also adopting resolutions on this issue.

[Anand] What should the prime minister do?

[Shekhar] I am not aware of the point of views of his advisers. It has been said during the last few days that a unanimous decision has been made to refer the issue to the Supreme Court. But some difficulties have arisen. The BJP leader Mr. Advani's statement that I saw today (Friday) indicates that this resolution was not based on reality. Unless I am a little better informed about the talks between various leaders and the prime minister, it is difficult for me to say where the talks should begin.

[Anand] Didn't you get more information yesterday (Thursday) in your talks with the prime minister?

[Shekhar] Based on my conversation, I can only say that I do not see any correlation between the newspaper reports and the information I gathered during my talks.

[Anand] After talking to the prime minister do you feel that a solution can be found before December 6?

[Shekhar] During our talks I felt that we have agreement on the issue, but somehow the results differ. We have talked two or three times, and did not disagree on any point. In such a situation how can I predict the outcome.

[Anand] What do you regard as the reason for the breakdown of the three-sided talks, the announcement for Karseva or the lack of foresight on the part of the government?

[Shekhar] I do not blame the government. However, the announcement of Karseva affected the people. Timely action should have been taken to control this. I am not saying it was lack of foresight. Probably the government did not get the expected level of cooperation.

[Anand] On the very first day the Religious Council announced the 6 December Karseva. The prime minister had requested a time extension of three to four months from the same Religious Council. Who is responsible for such an happening on the very first day?

[Shekhar] The Religious Council should not have made such an announcement. I do not understand from where this third party, the Religious Council, emerged. First we had the Vishav Hindu Parishad, Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangh [RSS] and the Bajrang Dal. On the other side was the Babri Mosque Action Committee and the Personal Law Board. These were the entities consulted as necessary. The prime minister should have focused on the primary issue only. After the talks, newspapers carried five to seven statements from different people. The prime minister's office did not refute or argue. This complicates the issue.

[Anand] It means that the Religious Council entered the scene as a new player and the prime minister extended recognition. He also requested time extensions from these sadhus rather than from the BJP and the VHP.

[Shekhar] The prime minister is the one to respond to these.

[Anand] Was initiating a dialogue with the sadhus wrong?

[Shekhar] The government should be ready to open talks with any party on any complex issue. I had also talked with the sadhus. To talk in itself is not wrong. But what are the limitations of these talks? How trustworthy is the other party? I do not know the conditions that prompted commentary on the prime minister's statements. However, this process was sad because it further complicated the issue.

[Anand] From the point on which it now stands, where does one go to find the solution to the Ayodhya issue?

[Shekhar] Finding a solution now is more difficult than it ever was. With time, our thought process has become confined, and we are eagerly displaying signs of wanting to do something. All this points to the sprouting of a dangerous situation. That is why all parties involved will have to be more benevolent.

[Anand] And if the aim is to move ahead to clear the logjam?

[Shekhar] The subject matter of the issue should not be broadened. There is no time to refute allegations and ambiguity should be avoided.

[Anand] Under these conditions what do you see as the solution?

[Shekhar] We will have to recreate the old thinking. There is no other way around it.

[Anand] How can the past thinking be revived?

[Shekhar] I do not believe that the people are ignorant and hold animosity. If people are made to recognize that we cannot cross these limitations, I am sure they will understand.

[Anand] Can the Ayodhya issue be considered a one-time exception, as a solution, and Muslims be appealed to?

[Shekhar] Maybe it can be done. Solutions can be many. But who will be the first to make a proposal. There are only two bodies who can initiate these. One is the government that can guide the will of the people in the right direction, and the other is the group representing the majority, which can steer the public opinion. These solutions will require cultivation of right thinking by educating the people. Use of force will not bring the desired result.

[Anand] Would appending the Worship Site Act to the Ayodhya issue have eased the course to a solution?

[Shekhar] I have no idea of the reasoning for the enactment of this Act. Once it became law I tried to learn more about it. But no one was able to explain its background or purpose. They wanted to pass something in a hurry and that they did. Let me tell you that in principle, no useful purpose has ever been achieved, in this world, by cleverness. Every problem in the world can be solved by honesty and being straight forward. However bitter the truth, you should always be ready to say it. You should have the courage to implement an action however drastic it may be, if needed. In so doing, one should believe that such an action is not taken because of any pressures or sentiments. There is only one way to resolve a special problem entrapped in special circumstances, and that is to listen to everyone but to always have the courage to make your own decision. This is the secret key to resolve any and all issues.

[Anand] In the recent past you had met with Ali Mia. It is said that he is one of the most liberal Muslim religious

leaders. What are his thoughts now? [Shekhar] I met Ali Mia for the first time during 1977-78 when the Janata Party was in power. In the intervening 14 to 15 years, we had no meetings. However, when I went to Lucknow for a day, I was informed that Ali Mia desired to meet with me. I called him and set aside a time. When we first met, Ali Mia discussed religious matters only. This time in our talks I sensed that he feels that politics has reached a level where religious matters do not enjoy the freedom of earlier days. This reflected a sense of sadness, suspicion, and apprehension in him.

[Anand] Does it mean that the Ayodhya issue has both religion and politics in it.

[Shekhar] In so far as religion and politics are there I have no problem, but when the Ayodhya issue starts playing with the sentiments of people, it takes a dangerous turn. Any issue that toys with the sentimental values or religious freedom of people, or terrifies them, assumes critical dimensions. In my opinion this issue has reached that stage.

[Anand] Who are the people or powers, in your estimation, not wanting to see this issue resolved?

[Shekhar] Your question is such that I do not have a ready response. In any case, the powers are the same. The powers who intend, for the general public of this country, to lose their self-confidence and self-esteem, the powers who desire that the country should not solve its problems with unity. These powers sometime play their games in the name of religion, sometime in the disguise of economic policies, often revoking caste or similar other sensitive themes.

[Anand] Would you care to name them?

[Shekhar] To identify them is not difficult. The real question is not whether we can name them and point at them. We very quickly turn 180 degrees. For example, the current economic policies emerged when we were navigating the Janata Party government. I was with that party. I told them the policies were wrong, and the gears changed. The people who were backing those policies, today vigorously oppose them, and our countrymen do not even remember them. Their names appear in the headlines daily. There are several such examples.

[Anand] Lal Krishna Advani has requested permission to perform Karseva on 2.77 acres of land. He, with other leaders of RSS and VHP contend that the completion of this work could take two to three years. During this time they will not touch the disputed structure, and possibly a solution to the entire issue can be found during this time.

[Shekhar] Such was possible when mutual trust was intact. In the absence of mutual trust, it would be improper to keep the entire society under false hope for two years. This will further deteriorate the situation. Instead of finding a settlement, the issue will grow in complexity. Whatever has to be done, should be accomplished in a month, two months or a similar short period.

[Anand] What will be your position in the event, that the 6 December Karseva is performed and the Kalayan Singh government is ousted?

[Shekhar] I do not wish such a stage to be set. The matter of ousting the government will have to be tackled by the Central government. I do not wish to give an unnecessary twist to this issue. A well-known and learned reporter had asked me, and I will not name him, what would I have done in a similar situation? I responded by saying that, if I was the prime minister my effort would have been not to give bad advice to anyone, or unnecessary advice to any chief minister. But if I felt that such advice was in the nation's interest, and is constitutional, then and I must advise the chief minister and if the chief minister did not accept my advice within say a day or two, I would then see to it that he did not continue to be the chief minister anymore. However, all this depends on the prime minister's evaluation of the prevailing situation, his relationship with the chief minister, and his faith and trust in him. Today I can assert with confidence that I did not remove any chief minister on mere advice. I do not say that people did not ask me to take such steps. They did and brought pressure on me. My position is that governments are not dismissed just like that. I always asked the concerned chief ministers to follow instructions. I asked them once, twice, and when they did not heed the third time, I told them that the state of affairs was not acceptable to me. I believe in free and frank discussions. The difficult part of the situation is that everyone is satisfied and the dissatisfaction is on the increase. In all meetings it is apparent that all parties are fully satisfied, and after each meeting it appears that satisfaction is changing gears. This is a precarious situation.

[Anand] Where do you feel is the root cause of this controversy? Is it history itself or in the study of the history?

[Shekhar] Some historic events cannot be forgotten. I am neither referring to the history of days long gone nor do I want to talk about controversial subjects. The day India was divided in the name of religion, bitterness entered in the minds of the common people. But the people who govern the country should not keep on rubbing the old wounds, they should try to create new history. I will not say that there is no effect from the old pain. The common people may continue to have that feeling but the representatives of the people should be above it.

[Anand] Is the effort to resolve the Ayodhya issue an attempt to improve history or to corrode it?

[Shekhar] You cannot improve history. However, you can give it a new appearance. New history is made. When one tries to improve the past he cannot forge the future. Learn from the past to define the present in order to construct the future. The one who aims to improve the past cannot understand the present nor can he dream

about the future. Accept all that is good and auspicious in the past and let all what is bad, vicious, and unholy be lost in the history.

Paper Castigates Government Over Ayodhya Incident

BK1612090492 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
7 Dec 92 p 1

[Editorial: "A Nation Betrayed"]

[Text] The outrage Ayodhya witnessed on Sunday is an affront to our national honour. India's principal opposition party now stands exposed as one only too willing to resort to deceit and dastardliness in its frenetic pursuit of a religious goal. India's ruling party has set a new landmark in political pusillanimity.

If the Congress Party had not turned its calculated ineptness into a shameful strategy of inaction, if the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] had not hoped to gain political mileage out of brinkmanship and subterfuge, India would have been spared this ominous fallout of all that has gone on in the name of Mandir and Masjid for these past few years. And, there is little doubt that Sunday's senselessness, an inexorable culmination of all our compulsive shenanigans, will render our fragile fraternity ever more vulnerable to communal extremism.

The acts of aggression leading up to the destruction of the so-called disputed structure were fired by an atavistic slogan long ingrained in the gullible minds of the votaries of Hindu Rashtra. The hawks among them have made no secret of their pathological anxiety to set right an aberration of history by pulling down a mosque built in Babar's name.

Conceivably, they may now gloat over their present achievement, heralding it as an assertion of the Hindu will, as quid pro quo for whatever was done to Hindu shrines in the name of Islam in distant centuries. It is sad that they do not recognise the irreversibility of history. What is worse, their leaders do not realise that their victory is India's loss, in this fratricidal game that is. They have mindlessly intensified the morbid fears of some people which their bigoted leaders will now love to put to their narrow sectarian ends.

Much as BJP leaders disown responsibility for whatever has happened in Ayodhya, no one is naive enough to take them for their word. There is ample reason to believe that in the final days of the run up to the vandalism in Ayodhya, they chose to be led by the rabid ring leaders of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal and what have you. Nothing else can possibly explain the volte-face on the part of its leadership which had once decided not to let its MPs [members of Parliament] take part in Karseva [voluntary temple-building service]. Before the echo of his direction died down, no less a person than Mr L K Advani was constrained to announce that he was himself setting out to Ayodhya to

participate in Karseva besides the party president, Dr Murli Manohar Joshi. Their subsequent pronouncements showed that they were a bewildered pack, as if their extremist co-workers had really usurped the control of their minds.

There was no option left to the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr Kalyan Singh, but to get out of office after the unabashed abdication of his Constitutional responsibility and his commitment to the Supreme Court that there would be no violation of court orders. It is a moot point whether Mr Kalyan Singh was a victim of the course of events, or an avid spectator and abetter of that act of illegality. There may not be many takers for the view that he or his party was overtaken by events and that they had not anticipated this provocative scenario even as they were giving every affidavit that was sought by the Supreme Court. What is frightening is that a chief minister and his party, which happens to be the country's principal opposition formation, can make deceit its strategem and have the temerity to make affirmations in court, which it has no intention or ability to implement.

This is indeed no tribute to Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's political sagacity. If anything, it brings into sharp relief his known reluctance to act when he must. He has arguably refined his indecisiveness as a new administrative culture. Mr Rao was clearly playing for time and hoping to be spared the mental ordeal of taking a decision. His calculations could have been varied, such as stealing a march over an ambitious Ariun Singh, but his ultimate gain is the image of a Prime Minister who would not act firmly even when firm action could avert a national disaster.

This pusillanimity has cost India more than it can afford. Mr Rao and Dr Joshi have for once shown themselves up as leaders who do not lead but let themselves be led by lumpen elements or lured by short-term political gains. History does not forgive such persons.

What they can now do is to plunge straightaway into an endeavour to minimise the impact of the Ayodhya outrage. The shaken confidence of the nation has to be rebuilt. This can be done by a new round of Karseva—a creative Karseva—led by the President of India himself, to construct a monument symbolising national unity and reconciliation at Ayodhya, in an act of collective atonement. The Raos, the Joshis, the Kalyan Singhs of our times owe it to this betrayed nation.

Government Blamed for Allowing Mosque's Destruction

93AS0303B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 7 Dec 92
p 1,10

[Article by Prabhash Joshi: "Ram's Test of Fire"]

[Text] The hypocrites who say victory to Ram and who are destructive in nature blackened the holy tradition of Raghukhul (Ram's Family) yesterday.

Those who believe Hinduism and its traditions are saddened today, and their heads are bowed in shame. Those who are congratulating each other in Ayodhya and are trying to say that the Babri Masjid was destroyed because of the eruption of Hindu emotions could be sadhus, saints, or mahatmas, and protectors of Hindu interests. There is no difference between them and those who, hearing of Indira Gandhi's assassination, were dancing in the streets in Britain with their swords flailing. Having a victory dance over the assassination of an unarmed lady by her own bodyguards is as brutal as is the destruction of a holy place of another religion. This holy place can be the Babri Masjid or Ram's temple. Only traitors can destroy such a structure, and the people who believe that they will build Ram's temple there do not understand Ram and what he stood for.

The Ram's Raghukhul has this tradition: We lose lives but do not give up the promise. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government in UP [Uttar Pradesh], India's Janata Party, the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], and the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] had promised the Supreme Court, the Parliament, and the people of our nation that they would not touch the disputed structure. Yesterday, however, they betrayed the Supreme Court, the Parliament, and the country in Ayodhya. They say that this was an eruption of Hindu emotion. That is a lie. The way the structure was destroyed does not show that this was a sudden venting of that feeling; it was the result of a well-planned conspiracy. Not only the BJP, but RSS leaders were also present there. The sadhus and saints were also there, who were known as the "group that directs the path." The VHP, the BJP, and the RSS were very proud of their disciplined Karsevaks and volunteers. However, they just stood there watching as the structure was destroyed. Moving Ram's statue just before the incident and bringing it back and putting it there proved that whatever happened was all planned in advance. The BJP government and the police did not do anything, which shows that the Kalyan Singh government was also involved in this conspiracy.

Kalyan Singh first gave his resignation, and then the Indian Government dismissed him and established presidential rule in Uttar Pradesh. One member of the BJP government told us how it fulfilled the people's mandate. It had neither belief in any principles nor any constitutional laws or administrative responsibilities. It died the death it deserved. It becomes a toy in the hands of terrorists, and the conspirators used this government for the destruction of this structure. For one and one-half years, they had used Kalyan Singh's government to remove the blocks in the path of building the temple. The government, which has avoided its constitutional, parliamentary, and moral duties with full knowledge, does not deserve anyone shedding tears for it. Will the people ever let such a government be formed again?

The Indian Government has established presidential rule there; however, for several months, it was involved

in the political game of trying to make the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh responsible. Now the situation is that there are 200,000 to 300,000 people gathered in Ayodhya. There are many problems in sending police and the national security forces there. It is up to its neck in the confrontation that it wanted to avoid. Protecting the structure and implementing the constitutional and Supreme Court's order was as much its own responsibility as it was of the UP government. Did it make a mistake in trusting an elected state government? Should it have taken constitutional steps to protect the Constitution? The answers to these questions are not easy. However, it will never be considered an effective government in our history. No one knows what the Indian Government will be able to do in Ayodhya. The people's opinion will never forgive it.

It is true that all politicians and political parties have complicated the Ayodhya issue. Everyone abuses it politically, and what happened yesterday had politics behind it. It was the VHP that started the campaign to build Ram's Temple. This party was created by the RSS. The responsibilities for yesterday's Karseva was taken by the RSS. What can Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena people do? The RSS family knew it very well.

However, they instigated the people's feelings and gathered them in large numbers in Ayodhya. Everyone knows the games the political parties play. However, the RSS is a party based on Indian culture and the Indian social system, and the VHP and the RSS were involved in efforts to build the temple. We can curse the Congress and the BJP they being political parties. What can we say to the RSS family that has brought this black day to disgrace Hinduism? The greater Hindu society of our nation is thousands of times bigger than the RSS and the VHP Karsevaks. This greater Hindu society is very ashamed of what happened in Ayodhya, and its generous and tolerant tradition knows how to save the nation. It will ask: Will you build Ram's Temple on the foundation of broken promises and fraud? If someone says "yes" then it will ask: Is it a Hindu religion?

No one can say whether the structure was destroyed in the name of Karseva because the suddenly erupting emotions could not be controlled. Like Mulayam Singh, no one has put any restrictions on going to Ayodhya. The Supreme Court has permitted Karseva. The Allahabad High Court, which was accused of dragging the decision on and on, was going to make the decision about this parcel of land in five days. The Central government has taken a cooperative stand in order to keep Karseva going until then. The UP government has reduced the amount of police so much that no one had any fear of the eruption of violence. All the obstacles that the BJP said were in the way of Karseva had been removed. It is not true that Karseva leaders had seen this so-called symbol of "slavery" for the first time that they could get angry. The structure was there for 425 years, and Ram's statue was present there. There were no restrictions on Hindu worship there, either. So why was it necessary to destroy it in such a way?

We cannot say that the Central government was asking for confrontation or that it incited the people. Not only the BJP and the RSS, but the extremist groups like the VHP and the Bajrang Dal also said that there would be a confrontation only if the Center started it. However, the Central government stayed idle in Delhi for seven hours, and the so-called Karsevaks acted extremely aggressive in the presence of their leaders. No one can say they were instigators, nor can they say that their emotions erupted suddenly. All of these sins were committed forcibly and in accordance with a plan. The fraud that was committed did not challenge just our democracy and secular Constitution. It hurt the credibility, promises, and accountability of the whole of Hindu society. The RSS family may not care for fashionable secularism, but it should at least have cared for our social tradition, promises, and the trustworthiness of Hinduism, which it considers the world's most advanced and civilized society. Behind this facade, what will we tell the factionals (?) who want Khalistan, or the Muslim terrorists who want independence in Kashmir? The Hindu society has shown its strength through religious, traditional, constitutional, and parliamentary ways. Why did it have to show Middle Ages barbarism? Those who believe that they will lay the foundation stone of a new Hinduism after destroying this structure will soon see where the Hindu society sent them. Except for the cowards suffering from their feelings of revenge, no Hindu supported this destruction.

Today, our nation, the Central government, and entire Hindu society are facing the greatest danger in history. The next few days will be the days of our test of fire. The parliamentary tradition of our Constitution is in their hands, and they must protect our unity and oneness. They also have to follow the tradition, which had been part of this country for thousands of years, and if they are destroyed, there will be no India and no Hindu society. In this time of trouble, they can take inspiration from Lord Ram, who had always supported following rational thinking and establishing decorum in a period of crisis.

Commentary on Implications of Court's Ruling on Ayodhya

*BK1212061292 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 0245 GMT 12 Dec 92*

[Commentary by Rakesh Bhatnagar of the TIMES OF INDIA]

[Text] The much awaited judgment by the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court yesterday holding the dismissed BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government in UP [Uttar Pradesh] responsible for unconstitutionally acquiring over 2.77 acres of land in Ayodhya is indeed a serious setback to the BJP and its allies. The acquisition of land had been done with mala fide intentions without

application of mind and in violation of the constitutional rights granting equality [of religions]. The acquisition also resulted in discrimination against one religious community. It had been acquired despite the fact that the property was in legal dispute before another special bench of the court. In 1989, the special bench, seized of a batch of suits of ownership of the land and the disputed structure, had restrained any party, including the government, against changing the complexion of the land.

In yesterday's judgment, the three judges of the bench, comprising Mr. Justice S. Mathur, Mr. Justice Brijesh Kumar, and Mr. Justice S.H.A. Reza, in their separate but concurring verdicts noted that the disputed structure, which was demolished on 6 December, was not an issue before the court. It had only decided on the validity of the acquisition of the land. The judges said that the judgment even if pronounced earlier would not have improved the situation that followed the demolition of the Babri Masjid [mosque] last Sunday [6 December]. The ousted chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh's, lawyer, Mr. K. Venugopal, while defending the BJP government before the Supreme Court, had repeatedly said that if the high court judgment was delivered early, it would have solved many of the problems. If the acquisition was quashed, land would go to the temple organizations which would be too pleased to utilize it for the Lord Ram temple. If the acquisition was held legal, the state government could utilize it for the purpose it had acquired it. However, the high court has found that although the state government acquired the land in the name of providing amenities to the pilgrims, it alienated it to the now banned Vishwa Hindu Parishad [World Hindu Council], which is in charge of the temple construction in Ayodhya. It is well known that the Land Acquisition Act does not entitle the state to acquire public land for construction of any shrine or temple. It must be acquired for the larger good of the community irrespective of its religious faith. The present judgment does not lift the restriction imposed earlier by the high court on changing its complexion.

Interestingly, the Congress-I and the BJP have welcomed the judgment. The former says the high court had undone what the BJP had done illegally. The BJP stalwarts feel that the task for construction of the temple has now become easier. They say there is no restriction now on the construction of the temple which the BJP feels was hindered because of the court's injunction in November last year.

The judgment is indeed an eye-opener for those who believe in state sponsored communalism or state financed religious bigotry.

Arrests of Advani, Joshi, Other Leaders Questioned

Violates Democratic Norms

93AS0299A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 9 Dec 92
p 1

[Article by Prabhash Joshi: "The Arrests Are Only Using the Facade of Parliament and the Constitution"; figures as published]

[Text] Why was it necessary to arrest poor Lal Karishna Advani? He had resigned as the opposition leader by accepting all the blame for all the unethical activities that occurred in Ayodhya. He should be left alone in his own home and suffer the embarrassment that his Karsevaks and volunteers had caused him. The arrests of Murli Manohar Joshi, Ashoka Singhal, Vinay Katiar, Vishnu Hari Dalmia, and Mata Uma Bharti were appropriate to the extent that they had not only been spewing poison for several months but were also calling for the destruction of the masjid. They should not be allowed to roam free after 400 people were burned in the fire started by their heinous actions.

However, Lal Karishna Advani was arrested to force him to stop the devastation that was impossible to stop. That is why what he said before his arrest sounds comical. For example, he said that there were no plans to destroy Babri Masjid. He said that about 200,000 people had gathered in Ayodhya on Sunday and only 4,000 to 5,000 of these were involved in that incident (of destroying the structure). Of these, only 500 to 600 actually destroyed the mosque. The other 175,000 people listened to Advani's appeal and demonstrated peacefully or listened to the speeches of leaders and chanted hymns.

Thank God that Advani did not also say that he was so busy in the peaceful Karseva that he could see the rioting Karsevaks. It would raise the question: If 180,000 Karsevaks were mesmerized by Advani's appeal, then why didn't he use them to stop the 500 or 600 destructive Karsevaks? He had been riding his chariot for the past two and a quarter years. Why didn't he appeal to the peaceful Karsevaks to stop the destructive Karsevaks? Could not he lead a peace march for 300 meters?

There was a lot of violence when he left for the chariot trip to Somnath and an editor friend of ours had appealed to him on the front page and told him that Mahatma Gandhi had recalled his campaign because of hidden violence, therefore, Advani should also recall his chariot ride. Mr. Advani became very angry at him. He said that violence occurred after his chariot had passed the area and did not happen in ahead of him!

Mr. Advani arrived in Ayodhya from Varanasi to hold Karseva peacefully and according to the rules. It was his duty to stop the troublemakers because he wanted to keep the original structure as it was. Why didn't his constitutional, democratic, and Ram-worshipping conscience make him stop destruction of the masjid structure? The 180,000 peaceful demonstrators definitely would have stopped the 500 to 600 people who were destroying the mosque. The leader, however, did not even think it appropriate to go to the place where he should have gone. He was ecstatic with the peaceful 180,000 followers who were enchanted with his appeal. When the structure was down, he said that it was unfortunate and covered himself with the Ram cover of moral responsibility and resigned as opposition leader.

Would a railway minister resign from his position because of a railway accident like Lal Bahadur Shastri did? Advani has taken the moral responsibility that no minister or leader takes. He is upset that the structure has been torn down. What else could Advani do? He did not assess how emotionally indignant the people were over the Ayodhya issue and could not stop it from becoming an unfortunate incident. We apologize when we accidentally bump into someone, and Mr. Advani wanted to say sorry after Babri Masjid was torn down and get away with it. However, he was caught. Being caught over politics is not a major thing. Two years ago, Lalu Yadav had caught him with this Ram chariot.

However, Mr. Advani considers the Center's decision to restrict the social-political parties to be a pretense. Restrictions should be imposed on terrorist or antinational groups. The VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], Bajrang Dal, and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] of the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] family have only fulfilled the desires of the majority in the country. In other words, by destroying the structure they had done what 80 percent population of the nation wanted. Mr. Advani has already said that he did not assess the feelings of the people over Ayodhya correctly. Does he have the accurate assumption about people's feeling over destroying the structure? If so, then why does he call fulfilling the desires of the majority unfortunate and distressing? Why didn't he take moral responsibility for that and relinquish opposition leadership? In a democracy, satisfying the wishes of the majority should be satisfying and something to be proud of. Why is he ashamed? It is because Lal Karishna Advani is the constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary spokesman for the Sangh family of parties. Deep down in his heart, he might be happy at the harm done to the constitution and the democracy just to satisfy the majority, and his real face behind the mask might show relief. It is important that his facial veneer looks unhappy and guilty. Therefore, he took the moral responsibility and resigned as the leader of the opposition. After all, he is the opposition leader. Except for those of his own party, all other MP's [members of Parliament] consider destruction of the mosque an irresponsible and shameless violation of the Constitution and democracy. They also want to punish the culprits. If we eliminate the antisocial elements that have joined the VHP, Bajrang Dal, and the BJP, then the majority of the people are ashamed and sorrowful over the mosque destruction. Lal Karishna Advani is showing an unhappy semblance of the Sangh family to this majority. Why does the government want to show his real BJP face to the world by arresting him?

No. The government could have arrested others, but left Lal Karishna Advani free. If nothing else, just for our self-respect, we would have a face to represent the unhappiness and embarrassment of the Hindus that represented the BJP and sat in the Parliament! There are all kinds of roles in the Sangh family, and these are played by wearing various masks. One mask is Ashoka

Singhal and another is Vinay Kutiar. There are some other masks that will be seen by the nation later.

Will Inspire BJP

93AS0299B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 9 Dec 92
p 9

[Article by Om Prakash: "BJP Has Become Inspired by the Arrests"]

[Text] New Delhi, 8 Dec. Lal Karishan Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi's arrests and the government's decision to build the mosque at the disputed place has given the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] an opportunity to get on the offensive. The party is ready to campaign again.

Until yesterday, the faces of their legislators were despondent. They were practicing restraint and carefulness in their formal discussions. The scene, however, changed overnight. The legislators raised the slogans of "victory to Lord Shiva," and "this is just the beginning; Mathura and Kashi are still there" right in the House. Some of the Parliament Members who are aligned to the BJP have restrictions imposed on them. Yesterday, it called for "close India" to demonstrate against the arrests of the leaders. It has hinted about plans for a long campaign.

The moderate BJP leaders, including Lal Karishan Advani, are feeling guilty about the destruction of the structure. Until yesterday, they were worried about the reaction of the greater Hindu community. The BJP did not want to appear as the accused alone in the people's court. They are still worried about it. That is why Atal Bihari Bajpai's press conference statements are geared to make all parties share the blame for it. It has kept the legal system out of the attacking range. They do indirectly blame it too.

The BJP dilemma is also related to the "cadre" that even the appeals of their major leaders could not silence. Then there are the holy men and women. They all must be appeased. Therefore, the BJP has been avoiding condemning the destruction of the structure. Mr. Bajpai says, "The prime minister had hatched a plan to make the BJP fight courts first and then fight Rama's devotees." The prime minister did not succeed in creating this situation.

The Ayodhya incident has given a new form to the Hindu factor in our politics. It had effected the 1989 elections. Other parties were calling the plans to break up the disputed structure anti-Hindu. The BJP dilemma was that until yesterday they were trying to pit it against the Hinduism that it represented. It had the question as to how to respond to this question.

However, now it has double answers. First, if we accept the clarifications issued by its leaders, they could not stop the Karsevaks from destroying the structure. The decision to rebuild the mosque implies that the central

government is going to overturn what the people have done. Second, the prime minister was negotiating with the same parties until yesterday as he is planning to put restrictions on. In other words, those parties were legitimate parts of the system. Explaining the restrictions imposed on these parties will not be easy. The government has failed to react to the temples destroyed in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Until yesterday, the BJP did not have any logical answers. They were so disheartened that J.P. Mathur had said yesterday, "Political wars are lengthy. There are short-term gains and losses." Today, they have the answers.

International reaction and the decision of the central government have helped the BJP emerge from the grave of embarrassment yesterday evening. As soon as the announcement about rebuilding the mosque was made, Narendra Modi said, "This country cannot tolerate another Babar." After this party announcement, there were indications of reactions to strengthen their side. Its vote bank will fight against Narasimha Rao now instead of fighting their own leaders to force them to build the temple immediately. The party is focusing on hard facts. It is asking all other parties, how did the BJP Lok Sabha membership surpass 100. Whose mistake was it? If the Hindus have developed some idea, where did they come from? Even though it is not fully true, they are calling the Hindus a tolerant opposition. How did the Karsevaks decide to destroy the structure?

The BJP considers restrictions imposed on the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad], and Bajrang Dal to be working in its favor. Ram Nayak said, "The government will not win this war; it will only dig its own grave." This is paradoxical. As opposed to the Emergency rule, this time it is imposing restriction because of its own mistakes. It will have to respond to its vote bank about it. It will not take many years. During the last two campaigns, it had the whole opposition with it and against the government. This time, it is all alone. Everyone is against it. The average member of the party does not think that the destruction of the structure was preplanned. However, the "cadre" is not disciplined, it is hard for it to tolerate the mental shock. Questions about the politics will also arise within the party sooner or later.

Reaction to Court Decision on Job Reservations Viewed

Violence, Riots Spreading

93AS0214A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 19 Nov pp 1, 10

[News Story: "Demonstrations Against Reservations Spread in Entire Northern India"]

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Nov. (U.P.)—There was widespread violence and riots on the third day after the Supreme Court's decision on job reservations. The demonstrations have spread in entire northern India. Dozens of students were injured in confrontations with the

police and hundreds of others were arrested. The students demonstrated, blocked roads, and damaged property. They also tried to set fire to government buildings.

The students carried out violent demonstrations in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Jammu, and New Delhi. The students took their anger out on buses and damaged a large number of buses by throwing rocks at them. They also burned effigies of Mandal and the chief justice. The administration in violence-ridden cities have issued instructions to close schools and colleges there.

Students in various colleges in Delhi boycotted classes, blocked roads, and carried out demonstrations. They also damaged about 20 buses by stoning them and taking out air from tires.

According to the police, the students attending Maulana Azad Medical College, marched to the Supreme Court. Deshbandu College students demonstrated under the leadership of Rajiv Goswami in Kalkaji area. Students attending Vivekanand College across the Jamuna River also demonstrated.

The DTC buses did not run in several Delhi areas. The students blocked traffic in Kalkaji, Okhla, Mall Road, Lajpat Nagar, and several other areas. The students dispersed at the arrival of the police. The police announced that the situation was under control. Upendra Bakhshi, vice-chancellor of Delhi University, told the students not to do anything to disrupt the education.

In Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad was the "hot" area. The students confronted the police at the university gate. The police entered the dormitories and beat up the students and also attacked the demonstrators with batons resulting in serious injuries to about three dozen students. About 80 students were arrested.

Students opposing the reservations order stoned the buses at the Punjab National Bank situated near the university, and also stoned the passenger train going from Allahabad to Jaunpur. They burned several ledgers and some furniture at the bank and two sacks of ebony leaves in the parcel train. The police ran after the students and beat them in order to control the situation. The police used batons on students at several places when they were taking out a demonstration and burning effigies of Justice Kania.

The students living in the Diamond Jubilee dormitory badly damaged a truck. There were incidents of burning effigies and confrontation with the police at several other places. The biggest confrontation occurred at the University Road where the police beat up the students trying to start a demonstration. About half a dozen bombs were also blasted, however, no one was hurt.

Students attending the Moti Lal Nehru Regional Engineering College were also beaten up near their college. A jeep belonging to an administrator in the University's

science department was totally destroyed. About two dozen students were arrested here. The stores on University Road and areas around Karnal Ganj police precinct were closed because of the fear of police baton charge. The district police administration is asking the university chancellor to close the dormitories. The chancellor, however, has not made a decision about it yet. The students have declared that they will close the whole Allahabad city tomorrow.

In Lucknow, the antireservations students blocked the Lucknow-Faizabad Road near the GTI [expansion not given] in Gajipur police district. In addition, the students blocked the crossing near the Medical College in Chautha police district. The police dispersed the students at both locations later.

According to the news received from Kanpur, the opponents of the reservations policy damaged a lot of public property in the city and surrounding rural areas during the last 24 hours. Students from Jhanjhak area boycotted classes and stoned some government offices, banks, and railway stations. Later, the police and the PAC [Provincial Armed Constabulary] scattered the students.

Students threw stones at many places in Kanpur and damaged eight passenger buses and blocked traffic in the Govindpur area. Students attending the Harcourt Bull and Butler Technical Institute [HBTI] threw rocks at buses yesterday and today. Mr. Kamal Saksena, Kanpur's chief of police, said that no major incident was reported so far. As a precaution, security forces were stationed outside the HBTI gate.

Five buses were damaged by the students' stoning in Merrut. Three men, a woman, and a child were injured in this stoning incident. The district administration has closed all educational institutions until 20 November.

In Muzaffarpur, students broke glasses by stoning three buses belonging to the municipal corporation in front of Chhotu Ram College. The police arrived later and dispersed the students. A joint meeting of the students against reservations was held at S.D. College today. They decided to boycott classes for three days as a protest.

The students set fire to a first-class bogie in the Mauriya Express in Devaria and third-class bogie in the 558 Down Express between Sahjanava (Gorakhpur) and Maghar (Devaria).

The students blocked the western entrance so the fire department trucks could not make it to the scene of fire. The railway authorities separated the burning bogies from the rest of the train.

According to the news received from Jaipur, students made many attempts to close down educational institutions and block roads in many Rajasthan cities in protest against the decision on reservations. Government sources revealed that students have come into the streets early this morning and tried to block roads and close schools to show their anger against reservations in

Bikaner, Kota, Udaipur, Bara, Alwar, Bharatpur, and Chittor Garh. The police had to use some force in some areas. The students also burned the effigy of the chief justice.

According to the news received from Gawalior, some antireservations students burned a private bus last night.

According to the police, the students first damaged the bus in Mandir police district and then set fire to it. Ranking police officers and fire brigade arrived at the scene of fire as soon as they learned about it and brought the fire under control.

The students in Sonapat in Haryana boycotted classes and had a sit-in on railway lines. They also damaged the shuttle train going to Panipat by stoning it.

Renewed Self-Immolation Attempts

93AS0214B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 21 Nov 92 pp 1,7

[News Story: "Self-Immolation Attempt"]

[Text] Lucknow, 20 November. A student tried self-immolation in protest to the Mandal Commission's recommendations as the antireservations demonstrations have entered the fifth day. The demonstrators destroyed several places and also blocked roads. The main targets of these students are government buses, cars, and buildings. Dheeraj Kanchal, a member of the Indian National Dormitory Union, tried to commit self-immolation, however, other students saved him. Mr. Kanchal was admitted to a Delhi hospital with serious burns.

According to the reports received from Kanpur, Allahabad, Gajipur, Faizabad, and Behraich, demonstrating students blocked roads at several points and also stoned government vehicles. The police and the students clashed at several places. The police had to use their batons to scatter the students.

One report from Kanpur indicated that demonstrating students attending the ITI [Industrial Training Institute] damaged about half a dozen buses and stoned several government buses. Various reports from Uttar Pradesh indicate that opponents of reservations policy blocked roads and threw stones at buses at many places. They also damaged government buildings.

News reports from New Delhi said that the antireservations demonstrations have spread in several states on the fifth day. The demonstrators blocked roads and sabotaged property at several places. The police had to use teargas on the north gate of the Delhi University in order to disperse the students gathered at the Karanti Chowk.

The students have accelerated their demonstration when the Supreme Court declared the V.P. Singh government's directive about job reservations legitimate. Strikes were observed at Maulana Azad Medical College and Guru Teg Bahadur Hospital. Medical services in both places were badly affected by this strike.

The students demonstrated peacefully until noon today and no major disruption was reported. The demonstrators blocked traffic at about a dozen places. The main difference was that a large number of male and female students from various schools also participated today.

Daily life was badly disrupted in Punjab and Haryana because of the demonstrations according to the reports from Chandigarh. Students blocked traffic at many places and damaged property. University and college students boycotted classes again today. According to a news received from Hissar, the situation is very tense but under control there. The police had to open fire on the students yesterday.

According to information received from Rajasthan, the demonstrators have blocked roads and vandalized property in Jaipur, Udaipur, Bharat Pur, Ajmer, Jalaur, and Bikaner.

According to a report from Jaipur, demonstrators against reservations have blocked roads in several cities in the state. Police sources revealed that antireservations demonstrators stopped traffic and closed educational institutions in many cities of the state including Jaipur. In Jaipur, the demonstrators blocked Jawahar Lal Nehru Road and Hospital Road.

Decision Questionable

93AS0214C Varnasi AJ in Hindi 20 Nov 92 p 3

[Article: "Reservations: Opponent Angry and Supporters Scared"]

[Text] The decision made by the special constitutional commission appointed by the Supreme Court has not only angered the students, but has also scared the pro-reservations group because of the reaction. Most of the intellectuals in the city admit that while the Supreme Court decision clarifies several important points, it also raises new questions.

Dr. Harishankar Nath Tripathi, a well-known Gandhian philosopher and former chairman of the department of politics at the Kashi Hindu University, said that the Supreme Court decision has provided job reservations to non-Hindus for the first time. Islam has no caste system and the decision about backward Muslims will be made according to castes! For example, if a Hindu barber changed his religion to Islam, he would be considered a backward-caste person under the new decision. This will develop a caste system among the Muslims and caste would become legitimate in that religion. Muslim representatives can oppose this decision. The same will happen to Christians and people belonging to other religions.

Dr. Tripathi believes that the Janata Dal has lost its agenda after this decision. The Court has validated part of the directive issued by the V.P. Singh government about it and has rejected the calculations issued by

Mandal Commission. The Court also directed the central and state governments to appoint commissions within four months to identify lower castes and tribes. In this decision, the groups that have already benefitted are not to benefit from reservations. Dr. Tripathi believes that people from all castes will come under this group, and the castes that the Mandal Commission has included in the reservations system will greatly benefit. Dr. Tripathi said that young people belonging to the already benefitted groups will demand that people who belong to lower castes and tribes but who have made so much progress that they can be considered to be from higher castes should also be identified and made exempt from reservations benefits. He said that removing promotions from the reservations policy was a courageous step.

Dr. Tripathi said that only 10 percent of poor have been given reservation and income criterion must be included to separate the cream of the lower castes from the really backward people in the lower castes. That is why this decision appears to be contradictory at first glance. Pointing to new problems, he said that this decision has banned reservations over 50 percent of the total vacancies. It is easy to guess what would happen in the states where they already have 60 to 95 percents jobs reserved for the lower castes and tribes. The people in the south definitely will be unhappy. Dr. Tripathi said that the youth who oppose reservations are against all the political parties now because all of them welcome this decision, willingly or unwillingly. It is clear that while this decision offers support for social change, it also has created some problems that have made this group unhappy, and put the political parties in jeopardy. These new problems will not be solved during this century. The antireservations groups have no alternative but to show their dissatisfaction through legitimate, nonviolent, and democratic campaigns against it.

Mrs. Chanderkala Padia, also of the political department, said that even though this decision has worried some people, there are some positive aspects of it. It has removed the clause reserving seats for promotions. She added that she had always supported reservations for social justice, however, she did not want so many reservations that the main purpose of social justice is pushed back. She expressed concern over the violence and said that perhaps the feelings of these youth are correct, however, sabotage and setting fires to property is never right. She advised the students to express their feelings through legitimate democratic means.

Prominent sociologist Professor Harish Chander Shrivastav said that a major part of our society was deprived of culture and economy because of our ancient caste system, and this system had to be reformed sooner or later. These groups will be able to get power and jobs because of the Supreme Court decision. He said that not only in India, but also the history of the world shows that one group has been the ruler and the rest had been ruled. The changes are happening everywhere now. Social justice is one of India's goals and we must accept it. The Supreme Court has just done that.

Dr. Vansh Bahadur Singh, professor at Uday Pratap College, said that total removal of reservations quota in government promotions is a very courageous and commendable step. This will directly impact the effectiveness of our government bureaucracy. Appealing to the students opposed to reservations, he asked them to stay away from violence, and said that everyone has the right to make demands but they must follow an acceptable forum.

Detrimental to Society

93AS0214D Varnasi AJ in Hindi 18 Nov 92 p 6

[Editorial: "The Decision in Relations to Reservations"]

[Text] The much-awaited Supreme Court decision on the reservations system has been made. The reservations for 27 percent of the backward castes and tribes has been declared appropriate in this decision. Ten-percent of the reservations based on economic status has been declared illegal. The Rao government at the Center had assured at the outset that reservations based on economic status would also be given. The Central government had suggested this to the Supreme Court, however, the special court under the chairmanship of Justice Kania made the decision. There were nine members of this special court and the decision was made by the majority. Three judges gave separate decision and recommended reconsideration of the whole reservations issue. This decision was called historical from a constitutional perspective and was welcomed by most, however, angry reaction over rejecting the Central government's suggestion to reserve quotas based on economic status was also natural. Perhaps, the honorable judges were aware of this possibility and, therefore, had warned the police administration to be on alert. It is clear that regardless of what the constitution says, if we consider human emotions, the idea of reservations based on economic status cannot be rejected. The suggestion that the Supreme court has made about appointing a commission to develop criteria for identifying the real recipient of reservations is very important. This should be done immediately. This commission is imperative for establishing the main basis for reservations and, we hope, that it will be able to provide the necessary balance in the reservations system.

In Article 14 of the Constitution, while discussing equality, it says that no person would be deprived the right to reservations to attain equality. This is constitutionally appropriate, however, we cannot call total lack of human sympathy in the legal system appropriate. The main purpose of the reservation system is to provide equal opportunity in getting government jobs. What would the law offer to the people who because of their poverty are equal to the lower castes and tribes? This is a natural question. The honorable justice know well how the whole country had reacted to Mandal Commission's recommendations when announced by V.P. Singh. That is why they had to alert the government when they announced that 27-percent reservations is appropriate.

Legal and constitutional decisions are important, however, they become the subject of criticism if they do not consider people's feelings and protect their interests. Anyhow, some important things have been said in the suggestions for implementing the reservations system. It has been made clear that reservations over 50 percent is not permissible. Those who have higher social status in the backward castes and tribes will not benefit. A commission will be able to properly identify the backward person within four months. There will be reservations for initial selection, but not for promotions. At present, a lot of fraud is being practiced in this area. Veteran and competent workers in a given department were passed over and inexperienced persons were appointed because of the reservations system, and this caused inappropriate situations. This system is negatively affecting the productivity of various departments. This rule has been made effective immediately, and the Supreme Court has made the right decision by ordering that promotions not be reserved. This way, promotions of inexperienced and ineffective persons on the basis of reservations will be stopped. The Supreme Court suggestion to appoint a commission to identify the backward classes that should benefit the reservations system is very important. Those who have benefitted reservations and have moved up to higher social status will not be able to benefit from reservations now. Firmness, boldness, and honesty will be very important in this area. Unfortunately, we did not pay attention to social, cultural, and educational improvements of the backward classes during the first phase of the reservations system. The whole attention was focused on getting votes from them. The situation has not changed much even now. We have to be on the alert for the situation that might be created because of the disagreement between those who oppose and those who support reservations. Even the backward classes know now that the political game being played in their name is for selfish reasons and to gain power, and has no desire to protect their real interests. All political parties have taken advantage of their backward status. Their interests and that of their future generations can be best served if all doors to their education, health, and learning are opened. One important aspect of the Supreme Court's decision is that no reservations will be made for appointments in the area of defense, science, technology, and nuclear science. The appointments in these departments will be made on the basis of education, training, and ability. This clause is important because appointment to these department can be made only on the basis of technical training and ability. Recommendations of important people cannot help here. Therefore, considering this decision by Honorable M.H. Kania before he retired will be considered very important and with far-reaching consequences. The Honorable justice said that reservations should be made to help some backward classes in our society to make progress, however, it should be practiced logically. This implication by the Supreme Court is explicit and in agreement with human sympathy.

Raises New Questions

93AS0214E New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 18 Nov 92
p 4

[Editorial: "Some New Questions Have Also Been Raised"]

[Text] The Supreme Court has declared that the Janata Dal's reservations system as issued in Mandal Commission's recommendations is appropriate, however, the Court has also raised some important questions in its long decision. The Supreme Court has rejected using economic status for making reservations decision, however, it did allow exemptions in some situations. It is obvious that the Court rejected the idea of using economic status as a criterion, but has put a question mark on this criterion by allowing it to be used in unusual circumstances. It is the responsibility of the government to find a way so that socially backward classes get justice and economically backward classes are also identified. The responsibility to define "unusual circumstances" has been left with the government, since the government could not provide it during the hearing. The Court has also presented the government with a difficult situation by accepting the 27-percent reservations quota and rejecting quotas for promotions. Those who have already benefitted by reservations for promotions have been given a five-year period, however, the states where promotions on a large scale were given on the basis of reservations system will face administrative unrest. The Court recognized that the Mandal Commission had mistakenly included or excluded some castes in backward categories. However, mistakes can always happen in a major task, and four months have been given to correct these mistakes. This could lead to new controversies as more people will start to compete for reservations.

There are two issues that can cause political chaos. The Court recognized the fact that there are extremely backward people in backward classes. In other words, the government can activate the "Karpuri Sutra," which allows special protection for the extremely backward groups. The Janata Dal cannot easily digest this issue. Even though V.P. Singh and Paswan have called this decision a victory of the Janata Dal policies, in practice, the Janata Dal has the support of a very few backward classes. This support can be greatly effected if reservations for the comfortable backward classes is distributed among the extremely backward classes. This will also increase mutual contention among the backward classes. The most controversial point in the Supreme Court decision is providing reservations to castes that have joined non-Hindu groups such as Sikhs and Christians. There is a clearly defined backward group of castes among the Sikhs, but Jats can also be included in this group. There is no reservation quota for Sikhs in Mandal Commission's recommendations, therefore, there should be no problem in including the Sikhs in reservations. However, if reservations system is only for socially backward classes, then Christians cannot be included in

it because they do not recognize caste system. This could result in injustice to non-Christians backward castes living in aborigine areas. The important question here is: If the Christians can benefit from reservations, then why not the Muslims? The truth is that the Muslims are more effected by the caste system and some of the Muslim groups can be included with the socially and economically backward classes. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and, to an extent, the Congress Party can support the political fronts for the Christians. It appears that the Supreme Court has created as many problems as it has resolved.

Parliamentarians Call For Construction of Atom Bomb

93AS0304B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 4 Dec 92
p 1

[News Story: "India Should Make Bomb To Counter Pakistan"]

[Text] New Delhi, 3 December (News Agencies)—On Thursday, Rajah Sabha members on both sides insisted that we should also make atom bombs because Pakistan is making them. These members were expressing their concern over Pakistan's manufacture of atom bombs. There was a newspaper report about Pakistan having seven atom bombs and that it had planned to drop them on India in the spring of 1990, when the tension between the two nations reached its peak.

The Rajah Sabha members expressed concern about these news reports and said that we must review the plans to expand our plan to make nuclear weapons. These members said that the way Pakistan is advising its citizens not to travel to India has made the situation very serious.

The issue of Pakistan's nuclear weapons was raised by BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] member Jagdish Prasad Methur. Other members supported him. These members said that the government should share information about these facts, given the seriousness of the situation. They demanded a detailed discussion of this issue. Nazma Heptullah, vice chairperson of the Rajah Sabha, assured the members that she was ready to open this issue for discussion.

Mr. Methur said while demanding that the government should keep the nuclear option open that it should not have an ambiguous policy, and that it should talk directly to Pakistan. He said that India should not sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], and that it should openly announce that it will make an atom bomb whenever it needs one. He expressed the fear that Pakistan could use atom bombs over the Kashmir issue.

Former Foreign Minister Inder Kumar Gujral said that the government should take the House in its confidence over the nuclear program. He said that the government should talk about a nuclear freeze instead of signing the NPT.

Mr. Gujral said that Turkey, Britain, Pakistan, and Central Asia have formed a bloc. Iran is also ready to make atomic bombs. The situation in China has also changed. Keeping in mind all these changes, he said the government should explain why it is considering signing the NPT. He said that it should present facts about the Pakistani nuclear program to the House.

Mr. Yashwant Sinha, a member of the Janata Party(S), said that this was the first time that Pakistan had advised its citizens not to visit India. He said that in spite of several phases of talks between the prime ministers of both countries, relations between the two had deteriorated. He added that India should review its nuclear policy. The government has three options. It can either become friends with Pakistan, destroy its nuclear capability, or can become a nuclear power also.

Editorial Calls For Foreign Policy Based on Consensus

93AS0198B *Varnasi AJ in Hindi* 8 Nov 92 p 6

[Editorial: "An Effort To Base Foreign Policy on Consensus"]

[Text] Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has mentioned determining our foreign policy based on popular agreement during a discussion over foreign policy. The end of the cold war, which started after the World War II over the competition between the Soviet Union and the Western nations under the leadership of the United States, and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union have caused a major change at international level. It is important that India reconsider its foreign policies and ways to establish relations with the principal nations in the world. In this context, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, the leader of the ruling Congress party, has given direction to our foreign policy by declaring that it will be based on majority agreement. In an earlier period, under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru India decided to stay out of the competition between the Soviet Bloc and the American Bloc to bring other countries under their sphere of influence. India formed a coalition of newly independent nations and some other developing countries and established a nonaligned nations group. This group monitored the extremist policies adopted by the two blocs. Still, in practice, India's foreign policy leaned toward the Soviet Union even though it claimed to be neutral. This happened because of India's anti-imperialist attitude during its struggle for freedom and also because of the Soviet support for India at international level, which helped India in many disputes. In addition, in spite of the refusal by other Western nations, the Soviet Union willingly provided unrestricted assistance for the rapid industrialization that recently independent India needed. The same happened in the context of India's efforts to strengthen and expand its defense structure. The United States and other Western nations did not offer assistance as hoped while the Soviet Union came forward to help and also extended its friendship in difficult times.

One effect of this development was that India became unilaterally dependent on the support and cooperation of the Soviet Union for defense and many industries and trade areas. When the international political scene changed, India's onesided dependence effected India's defense, trade, and industry. After the fall of the Soviet Union, India had to look for other options. It would have been a different situation if it was the simple question of reestablishing relations at the international level after the end of the cold war. The Soviet policy to aid other countries was based on a political philosophy. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, its largest republic, Russia, does not have a policy of providing assistance because of its political philosophy. It has its own priorities when establishing relations and Russia's own interests is the main priority now. The talks held between India and Russia about the former defense-related agreement between the two countries do not appear to be very encouraging. The same is true about fulfilling the contracts to provide petroleum products and crude oil. The Russian republic has its own problems because of its economic crisis. What worries India is that Russia is leaning toward Pakistan instead of insisting on new relations with India under its new foreign policy. Because of the situation created by the Muslim-majority Central Asian republics in the former Soviet Union, Russian policymakers consider it important to establish new relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. When Russia implements this policy, it will directly effect the situation in western and central Asia and India will have problems. Thus, because of relations related to this specific region, we cannot undermine the need for a review of the total international policy.

India has to establish new relations at the international level not only because of the changing situation in the world after the cold war, but also because of the new liberal economic policy that India has adopted. Narasimha Rao's government has preferred the liberal economic policy of open-market competition. It is important to make sure that India preserves its identity and dignity and also becomes stronger in the international market economy while formulating our new foreign policy. India's autonomy and independence should not be harmed just for gain in the areas of economy and trade. In the new international political scene and after the disintegration of a strong rival as the Soviet Union, the United States is the only superpower in the world and this is putting new pressures on the international balance of power. This was evident by the recent war in the Gulf and U.S. supremacy at the international level in economic cooperation. This will not alter with the change in the U.S. Government or the replacement of the Republican President with a Democratic President. President-elect Bill Clinton has announced that there will be no change in U.S. foreign policy. As for India, there is no indication that Bill Clinton's government will change the policy of U.S. protectionism in trade and putting pressure on India to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Except for the BJP, recently all political parties agreed on India's foreign policy. The Janata Dal

and some left-wing parties oppose Narasimha Rao's liberal economic policies in the international context. The BJP is not very supportive, either. Thus, the success of the prime minister's efforts to have agreement on foreign policy will depend on the ruling party's policies and the strength of Narasimha Rao's leadership.

Reliance on Foreign Loans for Development Criticized

93AS0218A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 21 Nov 92
p 6

[Article by Darshan Singh Bhupal: "The Path of Loans Will Lead to Destruction"]

[Text] A long time ago, I had the opportunity to see a movie about a corrupt station master who was suspended for financial misappropriation. He uses his contacts and does not only manages to get his job back but also gets appointed to a better place. The film ends with the dialogue, "I have a bigger station and more income now!"

During the last decade we borrowed 5 billion U.S. dollars. At that time, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi felt that borrowing was proving costlier to her politics than to the country's economy. She decided not to use the last installment of the loan and returned about 1 billion dollars.

At that time the two major supporters of liberalizing the economy, Aabid Hussein and Laxmi Kant Jha, were also influential economic administrators. Their major reasoning for borrowing was that if cheap loans were available we should use them to develop our untapped sources in industry. The weight of this reasoning and several other reasons forced the government to choose the path of borrowing. Borrowing was not forced by the economic situation of that time.

How did we use the borrowed money? The liberal spending habits of our government started with ASIAD [Asian Development Bank]. Instead of using that money to increase our industrial production to repay the loans, we started to buy all kind of defense devices. These included war planes such as the Mirage-2000, Jaguars, and the MiG-23 to 31; helicopters such as MI 4-8, and MI 26; Hermitage warships; AAN-12 to 32 and IL-76 transport planes; Bofors cannons; and the much-talked about Wasteland helicopter, which could not be used either for civilian or military purposes. As soon as the loan was obtained, new salary scales were decided for the bureaucracy and administrators. Each administrator got a 1,000-rupee regular increase. To spend this new income, liberal policies were adopted to import new consumer goods (known in the economics jargon as durable goods) such as all kinds of two-wheel vehicles, cars, vacuum cleaners, VCR's, TVs, washers, and computers. Modern life cannot be enjoyed without modern food! Therefore, factories to produce canned food and bottled (both nonalcoholic and alcoholic) beverages were also built. What little money was left was spent holding

Indian fairs in small and large cities of the world and our own fairs in India. In other words, without worrying about the fact that a loan has to be repaid, government officials began to rigorously follow the adages such as "live, eat, and be merry" and "live happily as long as you live, borrow and drink!"

History has started to repeat itself. Our great wheeler and dealer (especially in making loan deals) of the economic administrators of that time have returned in the form of Finance Minister Manmohan Singh with much more authority. According to the news available, this time we have borrowed 9 billion dollars. Perhaps, he is overjoyed because of the personal connections and, more than that, orders of some organizations, and his beggars bowl will be full to the brim. Before the news of this loan arrived here, the bureaucracy and the owners of our country (politicians) were overjoyed and started to make plans about getting their share of the cake. Announcements have already been made to increase dearness allowances, bonuses, and travel abroad. The prime minister has returned after completing his mission to check on the purchases related to science and defense. The president gave several hints about making our armed forces technically avant garde in his speech at the diamond jubilee celebration of the Air Force. In other words, plans to make expensive purchases in the name of defense could be made. International companies are being helped through reduced import taxes to bring their old technology and surplus products into our market. A deal to import 3.5 million tons of wheat has been finalized. A two-week-long colorful program for the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] nations has already started.

The government that Dr. Manmohan Singh represents threw his plans to stop last year's extravagance into a trash can. He has been a part of the government for a long time. How will we pay this loan back, especially when we are not using it for income-producing projects? Can we pay back loans by borrowing more? Let us look at an example.

We will use a hypothetical chart. Let us assume that a country borrows 200,000 rupees for 20 years at 9-percent interest and agrees to pay 10,000 rupees per annum. The World Bank and the IMF usually charge 9 to 12 percent on their loans and claim it is a discount rate. This rate is lower than the market rate, however, it should be noted that after the 9th year, the borrower nation begins to receive installment of the loan as if it were another loan. In other words, it has pay back more money than it receives in the installment as payment of interest and part of the principal. At the outset of the 21st year, that nation will need twice as much as the original loan to pay off the interest and the principal! The country received only 200,000 rupees for 20 years and has to pay back 234,000 rupees. Still, 95,000 rupees of the principal are due, because the principal used for paying 234,000 rupees is only 125,000 rupees.

Let us consider other programs offered by the World Bank and the IMF. They are called EFF [Extended Fund Facility] and ESAF [Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility]. These programs were started during the 1980's when there was an uproar in the Third World countries about the negative effects of this support, and economists like Professor Raj Karishan began to openly advise the governments of Third World countries to stop paying these loans.

The first of these schemes was to redirect the remaining loan amounts and the second was related to new loans. The main goal of both was to stop the Third World countries from defaulting on these loans and to make sure that there was no difficulty in getting the money back in the future. To this end, the economic structure of these countries was to be made the same as those of the economically advanced countries. The economic, industrial, trade, and even political situation in those countries was to be changed in such a way that they could not do without the help of advanced countries.

There does not seem to be any benefit to these plans for the debtor nations. They do raise many important questions, however. First, will this nation be able to bear the burden of paying 670,000 per annum during the first five years? This amount is equal to the seven installments of the first 20-year loan. This huge negative cash flow will definitely affect our economy. Second, several structural changes will be made during this period, and these will result in inflation, inequities, and increases in unemployment. Third, as is happening now, if our currency is devalued, the negative effects will be borne by our economy. Import and export in such countries are not flexible. Therefore, the pressure to pay the balance will increase.

Because of these reasons, payment of the remaining 60,000 will become very difficult. Under pressure, a debtor nation will either will not ask for a larger loan or will not get one. We assume that the loan it gets to stop the drain on its resources will carry a burden of an annual installment of 20,000 rupees. We will assume that the interest rate is the same as the old one and the payment plan is easier.

The negative cash flow in this loan was only 5,200 rupees. However, since the installment for paying back the principal is smaller, the remaining loan will increase to 80,000 rupees in five years. In other words, the situation is the same; back to square one.

In these circumstances, it is imperative for the developing countries to reject the economy of borrowing. The countries that have reached a critical point like India, must be very careful in spending the remaining money. They have to look for other options for resources. In a country like India, the best solution is to get the black money out in the open. Those who have stashed black money have used the resources within the country. They should be convinced to use it for protecting the nation from a catastrophe. The economy of borrowing will not

take us anywhere. We borrowed \$5 billion first, and now we have borrowed \$9 billion. At this rate, we will have borrowed \$20 billion by the end of this century. Cutting defense-related expenses is disputable, however, a lot of waste in defense can be stopped. For example, expenses on the caravans that follow the VIP's, parades, and rallies can be stopped for a few years.

The long-term expenses on defense can be reduced only by strengthening political and economic relations with our neighboring nations. It is not true that a nation's unity can be maintained only with the military. Many countries fell because their military was too strong. The main sources of a nation's unity and power are the affluence, education, understanding, and ethical strength of the people. Professor Thendulkar suggested in an article last year that the World Bank should levy stricter conditions. However, this will not solve this problem. What we have to do is to rid the government from the claws of vested interests regardless of the fact of whether they are bureaucrats, village landlords, city gentry, swindlers wearing the masks of politicians, multinational companies, or the high-ranking government officials acting as their agents. In other words, we have to get out of the claws of the station masters who believe that the larger the loan-cake, the bigger their share.

Government Attempt To Thwart Terrorism Viewed *93AS0173A Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali 17 Oct 92* *p 4*

[Article by Janata Ghoshal: "A Crucial Test for the Narasimha Government To Thwart Terrorism"]

[Text] Terrorism is once again raising its head all over the country. It has been noticed that terrorists activities have increased considerably in Punjab, Assam, Kashmir, Tripura, and now even in West Bengal. The new government is about one and one-half years old since Narasimha Rao became prime minister. Ordinary people hoped that this government probably would be able to contain terrorism. But the hope of the general masses has disappeared within this one and one-half years. Before our eyes we see that the terrorism is not being reduced, but various types of terrorist activities occur every day. What steps has Narasimha Rao taken to stop terrorist activities? And which declared policy of the government has become effective in crushing extremist activities? It is an absolutely true fact that terrorism is such that no new government or political personality can change it overnight. Therefore, it is not right to presume that Narasimha Rao will be able to solve today, suddenly, with a magical formula, all of the nourished and nurtured problems of our country for the past 45 years. But outside all of these arguments and debates the views of the common people bear some importance. The general public feels that the prime minister has failed to crush terrorism. In a state like Tripura, the All Tripura Tribal Force is engaged in various kinds of killings but the home ministry has not yet been able to take any effective measure to contain terrorism.

Only the other day I was talking to a government official about this issue. He said that terrorism has increased. It is a cancerous disease and we cannot reach to the cause of the disease. What do we gain from doing only cosmetic surgery? Just tell me so far has Narasimha Rao done anything differently than [previous officials] starting with Indira-Rajiv Gandhi to Vishwanath Pratap Singh-Chandra Shekar in containing this problem? I also agree with that officer. I feel that: (1) Narasimha Rao has also failed to establish himself as a powerful ruler in crushing terrorism. (2) Narasimha Rao could not build any political consensus for the solution of the separatist problem in India. (3) Foreign forces are continually being reproached, but it has not become possible for the Narasimha government to challenge these forces. (4) The intelligence forces in our country have also failed many times in this regard. (5) The problems of uneven economic development existing between the states have also not been resolved. No basic changes have also come to that situation.

It was only a few days ago Sukha and Zinda [Sikh extremists] were executed. Just watching this event: both of them went to the gallows without any fear, no one resisted; before standing on the platform they loudly shouted—"Khalistan Zindabad [long live]." After this the jail authorities issued a statement. And in protest to this event an all-inclusive one-day strike was observed in Punjab without any incident. If you are now asked a question about this incident, you will say that they were terrorists and extremists. But the majority of the people in Punjab today did not consider them terrorists. They took them as patriots because they looked at them only in the light of their own fragmented nationalism. This situation could not be changed even after showing a TV serial of romance and marriage between a Sikh and Hindu boy and girl. It cannot be done this way. I visited Punjab during the last election and also held talks with many Punjabis in Delhi. They all said, but privately, that the people of Punjab consider the persons [Sukha and Zinda] who were being executed as Bhagat Singh [a renowned Sikh freedom fighter during British rule]. You will say that Bhagat Singh and Khudiram [noted Bengali freedom fighter] fought against British imperialists and the ruling power. But these two have hurt the spirit of undivided nationalism and set a blow to the country's government. But the views of the people of Punjab are different. They say that bluffing about undivided nationalism has continued for a long time and no longer satisfies them. They are also today fighting against an imperial power, they added. The same justifications were also put forward at all places where for different reasons—language, religion, ethnic—separatist terrorism is raising its head—it could be the Boro movement [in Assam] or Jharkhand agitation [in Bihar].

The point is who you are and where you are looking at this thing from. What is your social role? The persons disembarking from a bus pushing through a crowd screaming and abusing those who try to board and say allow us to get down first, do the same thing themselves whenever they board in a bus.

I went to Lucknow a few days ago and visited the Residency Palace where there was police mutiny in 1857. I saw in the Model House the eulogy in an imperial shield for the British soldiers who for three months painfully resisted the police mutiny. When they were being eulogized the Indian policemen were called as the king's enemy. Today the terrorists also consider themselves similar to the king's enemy. It will not be surprising if the LTTE [Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam of Sri Lanka] builds a statue in Jaffna of the woman who, by fastening a bomb in her waist, assassinated Rajiv Gandhi because in Jaffna her activities were linked with the questions of nationalism. Therefore, there is no possibility of reducing terrorism in our country. On the contrary, there are greater chances of the dismemberment of the nation due to terrorism. Under this situation, whatever the Narasimha Rao government is doing, is nothing more than repetition of the same thing in a different way.

What is the role of the political parties in our country on this question of terrorism? Shouting and screaming in the Parliament, staging walk-outs at intervals, and attending all-party meetings one after the other. The government forms committees and the opposition wants political solutions. But no one knows very clearly what the political solution is.

The leftist groups proposed a political solution in Kashmir. When George Fernandez was the minister of Kashmir affairs, he went to Kashmir at that time and mentioned the proposed talks. But with which extremist group was the government supposed to hold talks? How can there be talks with the extremists who are engaged in fierce violence or are puppets in the hands of foreign powers or try to dismember the nation and speak about autonomy.

Therefore, it is a knotty situation. A proverb asks which is first—the hen or the egg? In some cases the demands of the people seeking self-determination could be justified to some extent but because foreign help and political conspiracy exist behind them, they cannot be separated from the extremist movement. Under the present socio-economic situation, the Narasimha Rao government will not launch a social revolution. I do not expect any basic social changes from this government. Therefore, there is no other alternative for this government besides cosmetic surgery for the cancerous disease. It is being noticed in a state like West Bengal, too, that extremist activities are increasing in Medinipur, Bankura, and Purulia. It has been said from sources in the ministry of home affairs that many extremists escaping from Northern India are taking shelter in Bihar and West Bengal. The Jyoti Basu government could not also set an example in crushing them. Therefore, whether it is Narasimha or Jyoti both have the same stance on the solution of terrorism.

I have questioned about a dozen persons who live in Delhi. They all said that the government is failing and not being successful [in combating terrorism]. It is a big

problem for the Narasimha government and to combat it is also a very critical test for his government.

Article Views Splintering, Factioning Opposition

93AS0203A *Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi*
14 Nov 92 p 6

[Commentary by Shambunath Singh: "Opposition on the Road To Disintegration"]

[Text] The hide-and-seek game between the Congress party and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] over the Mandir-masjid issue has reached a critical point. However, other political parties are just watching this dangerous game as spectators. They are not taking any initiatives. Recently, the Communist Party of India [-Marxist] (CPI-M) organized a rally against factionalism. It could be called a start by the opposition. However, Mr. Harikishan Singh Surjit, secretary general of the CPI(M), failed in bringing V.P. Singh and Mulaym on one platform in spite of his continued efforts. The Ayodhya dispute has become one of the most powerful political issues in the country. Both V.P. Singh and Mulayam Singh Yadav have sacrificed their governments on the altar of this issue and still have not developed political prudence. They should develop a correct estimate of the seriousness of this issue and form a cooperative strategy, and present an acceptable alternative to the nation to increase awareness among the people. No one knows what kind of model option this should be. However, whatever is being suggested has the undertone of "the temple should be built and the masjid should be saved." No opposition leader or party has made any efforts to gain popular support for it, however. This proves that they are avoiding this issue on purpose and want to keep themselves out of it as long as they can. It is possible that they may succeed in keeping themselves out. However Indian politicians just cannot keep it themselves out of it; it is a bridge they all must cross. Therefore, the policy of remaining quiet or inactive could prove suicidal.

V.P. Singh's belief that he decides the political agenda for the nation (it does not matter that other people take the ownership). The truth is that the BJP kept the Ayodhya issue hot for the last two to three years and has forced Indian politicians to focus on it. All other issues have been pushed to the side. Mr. V.P. Singh, who is a victim of the politics of idolizing, has resolved that he will start a revolution with "Ramcola" that determined farmers from all over the country will stand behind him and the "Ram wave" will be beaten by the "Ramcola wave." If the farmers were so well-informed then they would not be in such a bad situation now. This delusion is the same as they had over support of the backward castes and tribes in the past. They thought that when the BJP stopped supporting the lower castes, the legislators representing the backwards castes and tribes would return to rescue the Janata Dal. Some overly optimistic persons even hoped after the fall of the government that the backward caste legislators were slaves of their parties

and opposed to the rest of society. Therefore, the people would stand behind V.P. Singh and there would be such a scandal as Mandal that no other government would be able to stay in power. However, we all know what actually happened. The Congress party established its government at the center and the BJP's controlling four major states.

This question of factionalism is no less important than social justice to the opposition. The decision on how non-Hindus in the country could protect their institutions and identities would have been possible only when included within the greater framework of social justice. However, the meanings of social justice are limited to the recommendations made by the Mandal Commission. These meanings are also used just to protect one's political interests and the questions of opposition to factionalism and secularism have become ceremonial. It is especially ceremonial for the Janata Dal because the Janata Dal, which sacrificed its government in order to save the masjid, neglected this issue later. At that time V.P. Singh was a messiah of the Muslims, just like he was a messiah of the anticorruption groups at one time. Later, however, it was proved that all goals for V.P. Singh are short term; they do not have any permanent importance. His love for short-term [solutions] is so great that when he raises the issues, he leaves it to others to provide logical implementations. If other people do not take care of them, and the issues do not follow their natural goals, V.P. Singh still ignores them. Thus the issue related to opposing factionalism may have been entered on a page of V.P. Singh's political diary, its recent pages only show "Ramcola" jumping out from them. The situation of the farmers is not hidden from anyone. Raising their problems as an issue is a valid step. At a time when there is plenty of wheat produced and available at cheaper rates in the country, purchasing wheat from abroad at double the rate is nothing short of betraying the country. This issue is definitely more important and a more real issue than building a temple. However, the way V.P. Singh has ridiculed his earlier issues, no one hopes that he will be serious about this issue either. This is basically the question of his honesty and political prestige, which has taken a dive already.

The left-wing parties are considered to be the most vocal against factionalism. It is ironic that they were never able to win the trust of Muslim masses in this country. The reason for this could be that an average Muslim is as religious as an average Hindu. He does not want to trust a political party that considers religion equivalent to opium and negates the existence of God openly. The communists are atheists, therefore untrustworthy to him. In this context, the communist parties in other countries have not learned anything from the Latin American communist parties. Instead, they have formed strong cooperation with the church here. The Indian Muslims have some sympathy for the left-wing parties just because these parties are strongly opposed to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the BJP, and there are no factional riots in West Bengal, the communist-ruled state. The left-wing parties, however, have never

tried to collect this limited investment in the Muslims in an organized way for the last 45 years. Their policy of neglecting to make their efforts more prevalent has limited them to intellectual, cultural, and literary groups and people. They have kept the average person very low in their priorities. That is why the BJP was able to transform its beliefs into a solid plan and shake up entire northern India. The left-wing parties have never been able to do something like this. This way their opposition to factionalism appears to be as a matter of principle and to comply with the paperwork. A principle that is not practiced would be considered useless.

The BJP is making fast progress. Can we conclude that the Hindu mind is factional or fascist? Do the Hindus really want to toss all Muslims into the Indian Ocean? If they do not, then what is the secret of BJP's popularity? What are the real political, economic, and cultural grounds that have forced the CPI(M) and all other parties, including the Congress(I), to lose ground to the BJP? Why don't the non-BJP parties analyze their political techniques and trustworthiness? If they have the courage to honestly self-analyze, then they definitely will find that the real reason for BJP success is not because factionalism and fascism is becoming popular in our country or that Hindus enjoy hurting others. The real reason is that non-BJP parties are unsuccessful in filling the vacuum created by the fall of the Congress party's monolithic politics. The BJP is filling this vacuum all by itself.

After the failure of the third stage on the non-Congress government, parties other than Congress and BJP are passing through a phase of disintegration. The Janata Dal has lost faith in the CPI(M). Recently, the CPI(M) preferred to support Congress(I) when a person from low caste was elected president of the country. The CPI(M) thought that, just like the Mandal Commission, this was just another V.P. Singh stunt to lure the left-wing parties. Meanwhile, V.P. Singh believed that this was just the logical next level of his Mandal politics. He wanted to create an atmosphere conducive to social justice with the help of his "natural" left-wing friends. It is clear that the CPI (M) and V.P. Singh had very different goals. V.P. Singh was targeting the Congress(I), and the main goal of the CPI (M) was to disintegrate the Janata Dal. Both of them failed in achieving their goals, and also developed a deep sense of mistrust. That is why V.P. Singh or any representative of the Janata Dal did not participate in the antifactionalism rally arranged by the CPI(M). It appears that V.P. Singh guessed that the CPI(M) was trying to push everyone toward Congress(I) by scaring them about the BJP. Mulayam Singh Yadav had the full freedom to explain things in V.P. Singh's "absence" at the Lucknow rally, and has the full freedom to call himself the "champion" of those who oppose factionalism. The truth is that no other leader has played as important role as did Mulayam Singh Yadav through his shortsighted and extremist activities in developing sympathy for the BJP and also giving it a martyr's image. In spite of his rhetoric against factionalism, Mulayam Singh

Yadav does not have any program that he can call his own to counter the BJP or use it to unite the people of Uttar Pradesh, much less India. V.P. Singh, at least, is working on the "farmers campaign." Other Janata Dal leaders are also not idly waving their hands as are Mulayam Singh, Chandra Shekhar, and Ajit Singh. Sharad Yadav used the Mandal chariot to run after the backward classes in the nation. George Fernandes is busy trying to expose the "Pratibhuti" scandal. A leader like Paswan is using his Dalit Sena to get lower-caste support from other parties. The fact that BJP's Rama Janambhumi is the most powerful program is a entirely another matter. We have to admit that all of these leaders are trying on their own to counter the BJP and the Congress party.

The new subterfuge of the CPI(M) is that they must include the Congress party in this coalition to fight factionalism. Now, it does not consider Congress party factionalist as it did in the past. At that time, it believed that the factionalism practiced by the ruling Congress party was much more dangerous than the factionalism practiced by the opposition parties such as Jana Singh and the BJP. Therefore, if one had to pick between the Congress party and the BJP over the factionalism issue, the Congress party should be opposed first! Following this line, it has joined forces with the BJP and Jana Sangh to solidify its role as a Congress party adversary. Its continued anti-Congress policies had forced the people to say that there are only two perpetual opponents of the Congress party: One was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's Socialist party, and the other the CPI(M). The fact is that the CPI(M) has never been a revolutionary communist party that ever dreamed of transforming the government here. At best, it has played the same role in Indian politics as the Social Democrats in European politics.

Anyhow, under its new strategy, the CPI(M) wants to lead a widespread campaign against the BJP. Perhaps, it feels that sooner or later the BJP will dethrone the Congress party, and wants to cooperate with the Congress party to stop BJP's rise to power. The CPI(M) also charges that the opposition has provided political or social legitimacy to Jana Sangh or the BJP in its zeal to oppose the Congress party. These parties were misfits or minority parties like the Jamaat-i Islami before that. According to the CPI(M), the seeds of present growth of the BJP were sown in the shortsighted anti-Congress party politics. Whatever, anti-Congress was not an ideology; it was just a timely strategy to dethrone the Congress party. However, the question is: If the BJP could prosper under the umbrella of anti-Congress efforts, then why not the CPI(M)?

The direction the nation's political and economic situations are taking perhaps will bring the Congress party and the BJP together, of course, after some preliminary confrontations. The situation has changed so much that giving the Congress party a left-wing mask is considered bad politics. The Congress party is standing on a slope and it will be very hard for the left-wing parties to carry

it to the top. Yes, it will be very easy for them to slide down with the Congress party! But by then, they will have become the Communist party of India of the emergency period! Comrade, learn something from your past!

BJP Said To Increasingly Oppose Rao Government

93AS0196C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 10 Nov 92
p 4

[Article by Jawaharlal Kaul: "What Is the Meaning Behind This Encounter?"]

[Text] It was less than a year ago when Lal Krishna Advani called Narasimha Rao the best prime minister after Lal Bahadur Shastri. During those days and several months after that, there was so much talk about the friendship between the two leaders that the opposition began to accuse the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] of cooperating with Narasimha Rao. Even some leaders within the Congress Party were upset with Narasimha Rao's so called leaning towards the BJP. The Arjun Singh lobby was born as the result of this anger. The National Front complained that the BJP was trying to save the Congress Government and Arjun Singh was unhappy because Narasimha Rao supported the BJP stand over the Ayodhya issue.

Now, last month Lal Krishna Advani accused Narasimha Rao of supporting corruption. According to the opposition leader, the way the Bofors scandal threw Rajiv Gandhi out of power and Ayodhya threw out V.P. Singh, Ayodhya and the securities scandal will destroy Narasimha Rao's government. Now the confrontation between the BJP and the Congress Party is similar to the major deployment of soldiers on both sides in Kuruchetra [epic battleground]. It is not for the first time, however, during the last few years, the Communist Party has put its anti-Congress attitude away and is ready to support Narasimha Rao. Several non-BJP parties are advocating support for "secular" groups in order to fight "factionalism." The fact that the prime minister telephoned Jayoti Basu, chief minister of West Bengal, after the first decision of the Parliament clearly indicates the direction future politics are going to take.

What are the reasons for the change in this equation in one year? The prime minister adopted the strategy of getting popular support for his actions since he took over power. He believes that confrontation over national issues is not in the interest of the nation. It is not necessary to say that he has accepting this policy on principle; this might have been a timely need. For example, the Congress did not have the majority and it was using ADMK [Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] and other small groups for support. The parties within the National Front and the left-wing parties had not recovered from the fresh wounds, and wanted to block all of Congress parties efforts. Pacifying a major party like the BJP in such a situation was politically beneficial

to the Congress party. This was a practical strategy to protect its existence. The BJP also liked this strategy because it put the BJP right in the center stage of national politics. It wanted to milk all the benefits that it could from this opportunity. For example, it wanted to buy time to strengthen its hold in the BJP-ruled states and wanted to receive the political price of supporting the Congress party. It did collect it. Had Narasimha Rao wanted, he would have defined the rules differently and removed the BJP as the opposition leader or had made some agreement with another political party and given it the vice chairmanship of the Lok Sabha. He did not do that because he did not want to create a confrontational situation with the BJP.

This cooperation continued as Narasimha Rao wanted to end the old Nehru economic policy and implement Western open-market economy. He believes that this is the only cure for India's economic ills. Obviously, this required major changes. Policies and rules were changed fast, trade relations were changed, and India's trade doors were opened to the investors all over the world. However, this route was as dangerous as it was attractive. He took the path on a mountain with a high peak on one side and a deep ravine on the other. Any struggle on this narrow path would have resulted in his falling in the ravine. Cooperation, thus, was the mantra of success at that time. Therefore, while the BJP continued to criticize Manmohan Singh-Rao policies over minor points, all in all it supported the policy. This cooperation lasted until four months ago, when the canoe got stuck on the boulder of the Ayodhya dispute.

The question is: Is the Ayodhya dispute the only reason for the BJP-Congress confrontation? The promise to save the Babri Masjid that the Congress party made in its election manifesto is not new. When the whole U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] cabinet went to Ayodhya and took the oath to build Ram's temple there, the prime minister must have felt that it would be difficult to fulfill the promise that the Congress party had made. It could not agree with the BJP on this issue. If the prime minister was fully determined to fulfill his promise, he would have challenged the BJP openly. He did not do so. Even when the U.P. government seized 2 and 3/4 acres of land, the Center kept quiet. Instead, Narasimha Rao called the sadhus and holy men and made an agreement with them. According to it, the sadhus gave him three (the prime minister says four) months to talk with various sides and find a solution. He knew at that time that the VHP [Vishwa hindu Parishad] would not budge from its original demand. The prime minister treated the sadhus in such a way that many of them became his supporters.

When the three months passed, the holy men suddenly rose against him because the prime minister had changed his attitude during this time. This time around, he told the holy men flatly that Babri Masjid must be saved and that even if the BJP wins the Central government, it will not be able to remove the mosque. The holy men met a very different Narasimha Rao this time, and the lines for

battle were drawn. What happened during those three months that made the prime minister change his political priorities?

Another major incident during that time was the scandal involving banks and securities. Narasimha Rao was forced to establish a parliamentary investigation commission. The facts revealed so far have not only exposed the corruption in the whole banking industry, but also the involvement of government officials and cabinet members in this scandal. Manmohan Singh's charming influence disappeared. Politically, this is a major setback for Narasimha Rao. The Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh axis has become very important for the people in the context of new economic reforms. Now, there are indications of this axis being broken. The people and some experts have begun to believe that the new economic policies and the securities scandals are directly related. The main reason for this belief to take root is that prices of consumer goods have not been stabilized and the problem of unemployment is getting worse. Privatization is benefitting some groups, however, the problems of the people are still increasing.

The BJP had endorsed the Narasimha Rao government economic policies in the beginning. In spite of the opposition by the Janata Dal and other left-wing parties, the government succeeded in implementing its liberal economic policies because of BJP's support. Now, the BJP has begun to feel that Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh economic policies will not be successful. The BJP has no desire to be a partner in the negative results of a failed policy. The non-BJP political parties have already started their strategy to support the increasing dissatisfaction felt by the farmers, laborers, and middle-class urban population. In such a situation, BJP's hugging Narasimha Rao cannot be considered political astute. Some kind of nervousness is being felt within the Congress party itself. Not only Arjun Singh, but also several other Congress leaders are not happy with the new economic policies. The Narasimha Rao government is beginning to feel its pressure. For example, the removal of the agricultural subsidy with which this policy was started is being reintroduced with 5-billion rupees in aid under a different name. Even after many efforts, there has not been the expected increase in foreign exchange earnings.

Therefore, it appears that the BJP decided three to four months ago that it was necessary to move away from Narasimha Rao government. It does not want the Janata Dal and the left-wing parties to be ahead of it and to politically cash in on the dissatisfaction over the economic policy. It has formed a multipronged strategic campaign to oppose it. The Ayodhya dispute has provided it with the opportunity. The Ayodhya dispute is an emotional issue and the BJP has successfully used the formula of converting the dissatisfaction of the majority of Hindus into votes twice. However, it is also true that the political influence of this issue has decreased because it has dragged on for a long time. However, the BJP has the hope of starting a new and powerful current now that

the solid economic issue has joined this emotional issue. It is not a coincidence that the decision to start "karseva" (voluntary work) in Ayodhya and Bharat Bandh [total strike in all India] campaign against skyrocketing prices were begun almost at the same time. It is true that Bharat Bandh was not successful all over the country. However, we should not forget that the Bharat Bandh in the past always was a cooperative effort of several parties, while the 3 November Bharat Bandh was organized by the BJP alone. One purpose of this strike was to test its strength in non-Hindi-speaking regions. In this context, we can consider it an experiment before launching a major event. The BJP has also discovered another emotional issue related to Bangladeshi illegal immigrants. The ambiguity of other political parties on this issue is working in favor of the BJP. It would not be surprising if Bangladeshi immigration becomes a major issue for the BJP. The BJP wants to exploit this issue to strengthen its base in eastern Bihar and West Bengal.

Narasimha Rao must have estimated this situation correctly. He also knows that his economic policies cannot show miracles in one or two years. He must also have felt that his own party is not in good shape. The principle of consensus on which he wanted to run his government is not working even now in his own party. Confrontations started first in Andhra Pradesh, then in Bihar, followed by Karnataka and Maharashtra. One reason for this confrontation is Narasimha Rao himself. Many Congress leaders do not digest the fact that South Indian Narasimha Rao is the leader of the Congress party and the nation. In retaliation, some members of Congress have begun to accuse him of being anti-South. The second reason is economic policies. The Congress culture is not ready yet to give up populist politics. That is why the inner circles of Congress are opposed to stopping subsidies to the farmers and privatizing public-sector industries as much was the opposition is. In this situation, the prime minister needs a slogan that he could use for confrontation and uniting the Congress Party behind him. The only issue he has is Ayodhya. However, he would know that at best it is a gamble. Still, he can hope that the situation will change.

BJP Confrontation With Rao Government Analyzed

93AS0218B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 16 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Vijay Narayan: "Why Is BJP in Such a Hurry To Reach Delhi?"]

[Text] The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is eager for the Lok Sabha mid-term elections again. The V.P. Singh government fell because of a similar hurry, and now it wants to dethrone the Narasimha Rao government. It was easy for the BJP to oust the V.P. Singh government because it depended on BJP's endorsement. The Narasimha Rao government is not dependent on the BJP endorsement. Still, the BJP people are confident about the fall of the Narasimha Rao government. The BJP has already finalized plans for the elections. The basis of

their confidence is the resolution for Karseva (volunteers) for Ayodhya proposed for the 6 December meeting of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP). They feel that as soon as this resolution is passed, the BJP government in Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] will be dismissed, and the Narasimha Rao government will not be able to face the situation that will result.

The situation now is not the same as three months ago. The U.P. chief minister is not using the same language he was using three months ago. This time, they said that the disputed structure will be protected and told the chief of U.P. police more clearly than did Kalyan Singh to defend the constitution and the law. The U.P. chief minister and officials are not saying all this because of they fear the central government. They are worried about the Supreme Court's plan to take action against Kalyan Singh and some other persons for perjury against the Court.

Whatever the BJP people wish or do, the Narasimha Rao government will not jump into this affair directly. Instead, it will let the courts do their duty. It will interfere only when the question of perjury arises and when they challenge the Constitution and the law.

The BJP also has said that Narasimha Rao wants a plebiscite over the issue of the temple, however, Narasimha Rao and the Congress Party have never made such a statement. Any political party that wants to resolve the temple-mosque issue and also wants to keep good will of the communalist will never say such an ignorant thing. What the prime minister said or did not say is an entirely different issue. The BJP and the VHP have succeeded in getting him entangled in this dispute. They claim that the prime minister promised to resolve the issue within three months. The prime minister did try and because of his efforts the VHP and the Babri Masjid Action Committee members started talks. These talks could not be finished in three months. The BJP and the VHP people knew this. A way can be found only when both parties agree on something. However, the BJP and VHP plan was to include the prime minister in these talks. The prime minister agreed to participate and the VHP and the BJP people are talking about Narasimha Rao the same way they talked about V.P. Singh. They said that they had given V.P. Singh one year and because he could not build the temple in that time, he was removed from power. Now they are telling Narasimha Rao that he was given three months and since he has not delivered, Karseva will begin.

It is not true that the BJP or VHP do not understand the constitutional limits imposed on a government or a prime minister. They also know that nothing can be achieved by breaking laws. They saying that this is an emotional issue and has not place in law. Emotional issues should be resolved by mutual discussions.

The BJP is in a hurry to reach Delhi and is using the Mandir-Masjid [temple-mosque] issue as part of its strategy to reach there. Narasimha Rao also understands

this very well. His government is entangled in several other serious issues and is not going to fall over the temple issue. The overzealousness of the BJP and the VHP has forced the communists to help Narasimha Rao's government. The communists do not like this role because it is hurting them and their members are not happy with this role.

Even after reviewing this whole situation, the BJP announced its plans for midterm elections of the Lok Sabha in its national committee meeting held in Bhuvaneshwar recently. They have made the Central government's economic policies, inflation, and increase in fertilizer prices, in addition to Mandir-Masjid, the issues for the elections. It is amazing that the BJP was supporting Narasimha Rao's new economic policies until yesterday. Now, it is convinced that all the problems are caused by these economic policies.

If the BJP people correctly analyze the happenings of the last year, they will find that the Narasimha Rao government could have been ousted before the year was out or before the last session of the Lok Sabha was finished. The BJP was partly to blame for this mistake of the opposition. The Narasimha Rao government can be ousted only on the issues on which all opposition parties agree.

The Narasimha Rao government is in trouble because of the new economic policies. Prices have increased rapidly and the labor movement is on the rise. The farmers are upset because of increase in fertilizer prices. The government is worried also because of the banks and stock market scandals. Several cabinet members and high-level officials have resigned. We do not know what will be said in the reports that will be issued by joint parliamentary inquiry committee. However, no one is making any noise or talking about ousting the government over this major swindle. The BJP itself does not want to touch this issue. If we hold elections over such issues as corruption, high prices, and economic policy, there will be an appropriate environment in our country to resolve the temple-mosque issue. Changing a nation's politics into a totally factional environment will not create an atmosphere conducive to resolving issues. The factional environment created in our nation does not only endanger lives and property of our citizens, it will also paralyze our economic activities. Our experience during the last two years tells us the same story. In this context, the BJP should rethink its strategy to use the Mandir construction issue to catapult it into Delhi.

Jayalalitha Said Moving Into Alliance With BJP

93AS0216A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 25 Nov 92
pp 1, 10

[Article by Kumar Anand: "Jayalalitha: Moving Away From Congress and Towards BJP"]

[Text] New Delhi, 24 November. In spite of the talks held between Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and Jayalalitha, chief minister of Tamil Nadu, the chasm

between the Congress (I) and ADMK [Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] is clearly visible. At the same time, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Jayalalitha are coming closer. The main reason for the rift between the Congress (I) and the ADMK is the anti-Jayalalitha tirade carried out by Dr. Subraynam Swami, president of the Janata Dal. Jayalalitha is ignoring the denials issued by Congress (I) leaders that they have nothing to do with this campaign because of the close relations between Narasimha Rao and Dr. Swami.

The minority Congress government is worried. It will not only lose the support of four ADMK Rajya Sabha and 11 Lok Sabha members, but also if the ADMK breaks relations with the Congress (I) in Tamilnadu and joins forces with the BJP, the whole Congress stronghold in the South would be shaken up.

After a 20- to 25-minute talk with the prime minister, Jayalalitha's speech at the Rashtariya Ekta Parishad was colored with the BJP color. At the same time, the ADMK and the Congress members in the Lok Sabha made strong accusations and counteraccusations against each other while discussing the floods in Tamilnadu. All these point to the increasing distance between the two parties.

According to our sources, Jayalalitha has asked the prime minister to take actions against the Congress (I) leaders who have been campaigning against her. Not only this, Jayalalitha demanded that she must be informed about the action taken against these members. The prime minister told her that he could not provide any written information about his party's internal affairs. He would, however, provide oral report. The prime minister also explained about Dr. Swami's campaign.

Jayalalitha, who started her political career in 1982 and was elected to the Rajya Sabha in 1984, has helped Congress (I) succeed at polls in Tamilnadu. The Congress-ADMK coalition won 39 out of 40 Lok Sabha seats in 1989 and 40 out of 40 seats in 1990.

Meanwhile, Jayalalitha and the BJP are coming closer. Jayalalitha talked with the opposition leader Lal Kariishna Advani today. When Mr. Advani thanked her for speaking at the Ekta Parishad meeting, she said that it was her duty. Jayalalitha had decided on the time to visit Delhi after a discussion with Mr. Advani when he was in Madras. Both leaders talked for one hour after dinner on 12 November. Jayalalitha had taken with her P.G. Narayan, the ADMK Lok Sabha leader, and Swaminathan, the Rajya Sabha leader of her party. However, after introductions, Jayalalitha told the two to sit outside and talked with Mr. Advani alone.

Dr. Swami, who is running a campaign against Jayalalitha, believes that there would be no danger to Narasimha's government even after the relations between the Congress and the ADMK go sour because

after the division within the Janata Dal, 20 Lok Sabha members under the leadership of Ajit Singh are ready to support the government. The dates of Dr. Swami's campaign and the breach in the Janata Dal support this claim.

Jayalalitha believes that Dr. Swami's campaign is a Congress (I) conspiracy to shake up her government. The Congress (I) first thought that Jayalalitha would give in after Dr. Swami's campaign against her. According to the sources close to Jayalalitha, there has been no decrease in her popularity even after this campaign. That is why the Congress has started to succor her. Meanwhile, Vitthal Gadgil, the Congress (I) spokesman, issued a statement declaring that the Congress (I) has nothing to do with Dr. Swami's campaign and Home Minister Chavhan visited Madras with his wife and explained their side about Dr. Swami's campaign.

Jayalalitha believes that the Congress may deny a million times, it is behind Dr. Swami's campaign. She questions why the I.B. [Information and Broadcasting] and the Home Ministry had asked the Tamilnadu government to make lavish security arrangements during Dr. Swami's visit. Why is Dr. Swami getting so much coverage on the Doordarshan? How come Dr. Swami has access to top secret and sensitive government information?

The Tamilnadu chief minister is also upset at the news about her desire to meet the prime minister and his refusal to give her the time. She calls these news a joint effort by the I.B. and the prime minister's office to assassinate her character. She says the fact is that she had been avoiding the prime minister because of her anger at the conspiracy. For example, the prime minister had to go to Madras to unveil Rajiv Gandhi's statue on 4 November, and Jayalalitha kept herself out of this program. Because of her absence and the fear that noncooperation of the Moopnar camp might keep the crowds away, the prime minister's assistants informed Delhi. The trip was canceled. However, the news was circulated that the prime minister had canceled the trip because of his anger at Jayalalitha. According to the sources close to Jayalalitha, the prime minister has invited her to attend the meeting of the National Development Board's population council.

SJP Chief Shekhar Opposed To Banning Any Organization

*BK0912163092 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1530 GMT 9 Dec 92*

[Text] The SJP [Samajwadi Janata Party] leader, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, says he is opposed in principle to the banning of any organization. Addressing a news conference in New Delhi today, he said that Mr. Narashima Rao overreacted in dealing with the situation.

Article Favors UK for Air Defense Purchases*BK1812092592 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
1 Dec 92 pp 1, 9*

[Article by Pravin Sawhney]

[Text] New Delhi - Defence minister Sharad Pawar's hobnobbing with Britain's AS90 gun and aerospace manufacturers has sparked off speculation about a likely purchase of Tornado aircraft. Highly placed sources view it more as an emerging political deal, than an operational requirement.

Mr Pawar is understood to have met British Aerospace officials twice. The first was during his recent visit to London in September, on way back from Moscow, while the second was during his London stopover en route to Washington earlier this year. During the stopover, he also met officials from Vickers Shipbuilding Engineering Limited (VSEL), manufacturers of AS90 self-propelled gun.

According to sources, it is unusual for a defence minister to meet the manufacturers, unless of course, the British Government itself, is lobbying for the sales.

Britain is now more than keen to sell Tornados as given a recession in its aerospace industry, the Tornado production line—already starved of further orders—is likely to be closed down.

It was the massive Saudi air force contract of over five billion [pound sterling] for purchase of Tornado interdiction strike version (IDS) that lent life to Panavia, a tri-national company jointly set by British Aerospace, Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm of Germany and Aeritalia of Italy, the makers of Tornado.

The total requirement of this swing-wing multi-role aircraft for the three native countries' air forces was about 900, and more than 850 have already been supplied.

Considering various defence negotiations already underway, Britain is fast emerging as the biggest arms exporter to India. The British AS90 self-propelled guns recently underwent trials in India. The Indian Navy has ordered 24 Mk.51 Sea Harriers for its No.300 Naval air squadron. And the Hawk advanced jet trainer has been favoured by the service in comparison to the French Alpha jet, whose production line closed down in 1986.

It is expected that the British Premier John Major, during his forthcoming visit to India—he will be the chief guest at the Republic Day parade—may voice favourably for the defence deals. There is also a likelihood of the British Government offering a take-back of the Westland helicopters it sold in 1986.

The helicopters have no takers in the country. After Pawan Hans airlines discarded the Westlands, the Army was asked to explore its possibility of induction into the aviation corps. This was disclosed by the Army Chief

Gen. S.F.Rodrigues to ENS [Express News Service] during an interview in December 1991. Obviously, the Army never took Westlands, which have massive maintenance problems.

As an aircraft, in two long-range interdiction strike and air defence variants, Tornado is a fine all-weather, high-speed low-level flying machine, equipped with most sophisticated integrated avionics systems and an advanced fly-by-wire control system.

While ingeniously manufactured Jaguars can carry JP-233 anti-runway bombs or anti-personnel mines, Tornado is the only aircraft in the world that can carry both anti-runway and anti-personnel loads at the same time, using a large pod under the aircraft belly. It is capable of loitering on patrol 300-400 miles from its base for a period of over two hours, making the air defence version ideal for the air force.

The prohibitory factor is its cost. Conservative estimates put its cost at \$45 million a piece, leaving aside the support facilities. Moreover, the Air Force—at a time when defence budgets are being tightened—will hardly be enthused by a new type of aircraft. This in spite of the compatibility of the Tornado and Hawk with Jaguars and Hunters, already being maintained by the force. Tornado even has weapon load compatibility with the Jaguar.

Though Air Chief Marshal N.C.Suri, during his recent London visit for the Farnborough air show, flew the Tornado and expressed satisfaction at its performance, air headquarters is largely of the opinion that maybe a decade ago, Tornado interdiction strike version could have been operationally considered as a good option. The current fleet of Jaguar, MiG-27ML and MiG-23BN swing-wing supersonic fighters serve well as strike aircraft.

The reasons, therefore, of considering Tornado are largely political. Since the emergence of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), India which has over 70 per cent former Soviet equipment, has been concentrating more on spares supply and product support from Russia, than new type of arms purchases.

With the US suggesting a gradual warming of defence relationship, India can, at best, explore possibilities of getting some defence technology from Washington. Arms sales from US are both cost-prohibitive and unlikely to fructify in a hurry. The logical answer, then is to be found in the West, especially in Britain, with which India shares a past.

Article Highlights Weaknesses in Air Defense*BK1812091192 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
3 Dec 92 p 8*

[Article by Sorab Ghaswalla]

[Text] The report in the latest issue of the *Jane's Defence Weekly* that Pakistan is better prepared for war now than

it was during the 1965 and 1971 wars, gives an insight into the health of the neighbour's armed forces. The *Weekly* talks about Pakistan's mental and physical preparedness to fight a war with India if the need arises. Although based largely on interviews of some Pakistani generals and other of their top brass, the report cannot be passed off as just a mere propaganda gimmick for several reasons.

It is undeniable that the Indian army is currently fighting a battle on two fronts: guarding the country's borders and at the same time fighting insurgency in the troubled states of Punjab, Assam and Kashmir. If anything, our neighbours have successfully managed to achieve this by funding terrorists and training them in camps across the border. That, this dual deployment can be harmful in the long run, has been acknowledged by the "Raksha Mantri". The launching of the Rapid Action Force (RAF) thus, was a step in the right direction.

A daunting fact though, is the exhaustion of spare parts for the Indian Air Force (IAF). The importance of air power has finally been acknowledged and any nation's air force which packs a deadly punch, has won half the battle for its armed forces a lesson well taught by the Gulf war.

Though the Indian top brass and other experts try to paint a vastly positive picture, the reality is otherwise. One can only start to understand the magnitude of the problem from the fact that 75 per cent of the IAF aircraft are of Soviet manufacture.

Exploratory forays to Russia and other former republics by the Defence Minister and other top officials of the armed forces, only proves the seriousness of the problem. On a recent visit to Bombay, Chief of Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal N.C. Suri, promised that the spares would come within a couple of months. A despondent air chief explained to journalists that given the current constraints of severe budget cuts, there was nothing much he could do. The Air Chief Marshal ruled out purchasing new aircraft for lack of funds. He spoke of the technological upgradation programme of the ageing MiG-21 fleet, which he pointed out was imminent.

Technologically, upgrading an old aircraft has its limitations, which undoubtedly, the Air Force Chief must be aware of. The latter spoke of upgradation to an extent that the MiG-21s will remain in battle-worthy conditions for another 20 years! The delay of the Light Combat aircraft (LCA) project, which is meant to replace the MiG-21s, no sign of the promised Advanced Jet Trainer on the horizon (a must for any air force), coupled with the lack of spare parts, has put the IAF, one of the five best in the world, in a tight spot. [sentence as published]

It is a fact that the Pakistani Air Force too is facing a problem of spares for its F-16 Fighting Falcons squadrons but they hope the impasse between America and Pakistan would end soon which would once again, start the flow of spares. But where will the IAF go? Does it

mean that complete reliance on any one country for our defence needs was a mistake?

The *Jane's Defence Weekly* has not done a comparative report of the Indian and Pakistani armed forces while maintaining that the latter was much better prepared than it was.

Paper Urges Improved Defense Research, Development

BK1612113892 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
19 Dec 92 p 8

[Editorial: "Research, For Future"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Defence Research and Development (R&D) is indispensable for any nation determined to defend its freedom from the international arms markets. An active R&D establishment enables a country to evolve weapons systems based on local requirements and conditions. A weapon, after all, performs best in conditions it is designed for. An aircraft, for example, developed in a country with a cold climate would not attain the same performance in tropical climes. Suitable, and sometimes expensive, modifications have to be done to overcome the handicap. It follows, therefore, that R&D must be encouraged in order to achieve both, modifications, as also development of domestic weaponry. Independent India has had a strange relationship with R&D. On the one hand there is considerable eulogising of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), while at the same time its role and potential are not understood with clarity.

It is vital for India to have an energetic, as well as efficient, DRDO. And there is no better explanation for this need than the spares and supplies problem the country currently faces. India need not have landed itself in such trouble had its R&D, and procurement policies, been coordinated. The only comforting thought is probably that Pakistan faces an even worse situation and its ability to field its forces is severely restricted, owing to a far more serious spare parts crisis. That, however, is no justification for allowing the current situation to remain as it is. Two paramount requirements of DRDO have to be remembered at all times. First, in the short-term, greater effort will have to be made at 'reverse engineering', or copying in simple language. In certain important components and subcomponents, progress has certainly been evident. However, this has been achieved at repair depots and is not the result of a policy as such. DRDO must now take up the task, by utilising its large scientific pool, and invest greater resources to that purpose. There is an urgent need to be able to manufacture certain munitions and electronic items. This requires a concerted effort beginning from the top and aimed at overcoming shortages that needn't be there. In munitions especially, where India is still dependent on imports for certain types, effort has to be vigorous. There

is an element of risk in this field, and it has to be undertaken with the utmost of care, for lives are always precious.

The second requirement is of paying greater attention to projects that seek to replace existing fleets, whether of aircraft or tanks. A product is only complete when it has

been tested thoroughly by the end user. In that sense, India still has a while to go before the Arjun tank or the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) can be fielded. In the 'Arjuns' case, the project will see fruition sooner, but, it must not be allowed to become another Vijayanta; and the LCA another 'Marut'. After all, deployment will be effective only if there are no short cuts in testing before induction.

Rising Militant Islam Forecast in Central, West Asia

93AS0303A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 5 Dec 92
p 6

[Article by Ray Singh: "A New Movement Has Begun in Central and West Asia"]

[Text] In a meeting of the economic cooperation group held in Islamabad, Afghanistan and six Central Asian republics were admitted to the group. The six republics of Central Asia were: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan. No representative of Tajikistan could participate in the 29 November meeting because of a civil war there; however, in spite of Tajikistan's absence, it was made a member of the economic cooperation organization. Thus, the membership of this economic organization has increased from three to 10.

From among the three founding members of this organization, only Turkey says that the main purpose of this organization is economic, even though its founding members and the new members are all Muslims. Opposed to it, Pakistan and Iran say that even though the main purpose of this organization is economic, we cannot ignore the Islamic goals for it, too. Mr. Nawaz Sharif, prime minister of Pakistan, addressed the meeting of this organization in Islamabad and emphasized, in addition to economy, that the addition of the seven Islamic nations helped make this organization form a powerful Islamic platform. He claimed that the voice of 300 million Muslims that are members of this economic organization cannot be suppressed, and that their opinion cannot be ignored. Not only this, Nawaz Sharif also talked about the atrocities being committed by India over Kashmir. According to Radio Pakistan, all members of the organization supported Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. Nawaz Sharif said, "India is massacring our Muslim brothers in the Kashmir Valley and is depriving them of their right to self determination." Nawaz Sharif repeated his old rhetoric about resolving the Kashmir issue according to the UN Security Council resolutions, which ask for a plebiscite.

It should be remembered that Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said during his trip to Pakistan last September that the issue of Kashmir was an Islamic issue, and that he would continue to support Pakistan over it. According to President Rafsanjani, the Iranian constitution has a provision that gives priority to other Islamic countries. Therefore, it is appropriate for Iran to support Pakistan over Kashmir. Rafsanjani reminded on 29 November that the fundamental principles of Iran's foreign policy are to protect the basic rights of Muslims and to help them. Therefore, any harm to Muslims in any country is considered a harm to Iran's interests.

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif took courage from Ali Hashemi-Rafsanjani's speech in Islamabad and began to criticize the atrocities being committed against

Muslims in Yugoslavia's Bosnia-Herzegovina region, comparing them to those of the Muslims in Kashmir. Mr. Siddique Khan Kanjoo, Pakistan's foreign minister, sang the song his boss had sung and used an imagination trip by relating the Kashmir issue to the problems in Palestine. Kanjoo said that India was doing the same to the Muslims of Kashmir as Israel was by disturbing Muslims in Palestine. The purpose of Nawaz Sharif and Kanjoo relating the Kashmir issue to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Palestine was to anger the seven new members over religion against India. The Kashmir issue was just an excuse. Still, we cannot deny the fact that Pakistan was successful in attaining its goal, because the 10 members of this organization did not object to Pakistan using this platform for the wrong reasons. Turkey, which is the founding member of this organization, and which says that the main purpose of this organization is economic, did not raise any voice against the accusations against India.

It does not matter what the main purpose of this economic organization is or what form it takes. However, neither Pakistan nor Turkey has the resources to provide economic support to Afghanistan and the six Central Asian republics. Iran is the only member of this group that can provide economic aid to the Central Asian republics. However, according to Iranian policy, Iran will help only the Islamic nations that accept the basis of Iran's Islamic revolution. This means that Iran wants the five Central Asian republics and Afghanistan to approve the Shi'a religion. The sixth Central Asian republic, Azerbaijan, already has a Shi'a majority. Several Azerbaijani leaders have said that it is ready to join Iran. In contrast, Pakistan and Turkey have Sunni majorities, and they do not like the idea of Iran's Islamic revolution spreading in Central Asia. They are even willing to take action against it. Pakistan depends on the riyals sent by Saudi Arabia to spread the Sunni religion in Central Asia. The enmity between Saudi Arabia and Iran is known to everyone. Political relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia have been broken. Saudi Arabia has now restricted Iranian pilgrims from visiting Mecca and Medina for the haj. Therefore, Pakistan cannot dare to endorse the spread of the Iranian Islamic revolution in Central Asia against the wishes of Saudi Arabia.

Iran has weaved its web to spread the Islamic revolution in Central Asia because Iranian leaders know that Pakistan is just an agent of Saudi Arabia for the spread of the Sunni religion. Pakistan is also competing with Iran in economic areas. Both Pakistan and Iran have tempted the Central Asian countries with help in the construction of a network of new roads and railways lines and provision of Karachi port to export their products to other countries. The suggestion made by Pakistan is just paperwork, because it will require billions and trillions of dollars to join the Central Asian republics with the Karachi port. Pakistan cannot get that much money even by the next decade, due to the recession in the world market. The international banks, such as the IMF and the World Bank, are not willing to help Pakistan for this

plan, because it is imperative that there is total peace in Afghanistan before the plan is implemented.

Iran has countered the Pakistani plan with its own version, according to which it can export the products of these republics from its ports and can meet Azerbaijan's demand for crude oil. Turkey says that it can make arrangements for product exports through surface transport and can link them to European markets. Turkey is not very interested in spreading Islam in Central Asia. Most of the Central Asian languages are based on Turkish. Therefore, Turkey has made arrangements to distribute free textbooks written in Turkish. Its television and Radio Ankara provide six hours of programming daily in Central Asian languages.

There seem to be more differences than similarities among these three founding members of the economic organization. The economic conditions of the Central Asian republics cannot be proven by long rhetorical speeches, attractive suggestions, and plans, especially at this time. Except for Azerbaijan, the other five republics and Afghanistan have nothing to give in exchange. They do want to receive a lot. The leaders of the new member countries fear that they will lose their autonomy and not receive anything from Iran. In this situation, India should not be worried about this new organization. Still, India could be endangered in a situation when the golden dreams that the three original members have promised the six central Asian republics are broken. At that time, not only the three original members, but also the new members, will blame other countries in order to keep the organization alive. At that time, Pakistani and Iranian leaders will raise joint slogans about Islam being in danger in order to save their organization. In this context, Pakistan's Sunni Muslims' and Iran's Shi'a Muslims' differences cannot be ignored. That will be the time when the combined anger of all these countries would be against India.

India's Foreign Ministry is aware of the regional importance of Central Asia. Perhaps that is the reason that India's foreign ministry sent a deputation of so-called experts to visit Central Asian republics as soon as they became independent. The members of the delegation just enjoyed the trip and presented their reports. A brief review of these reports indicates that these could have been written while sitting right here in India. Some members of the delegation claim that the influences of socialism and communism were so great on the Central Asian republics that they would never join an Islamic group under any conditions. These experts assumed that neither Pakistan, Iran, or any other fundamentalist Islamic country, would be able to succeed in any anti-India action in Central Asia. According to them, India was very popular in Central Asia and continues to remain so. Therefore, India should open embassies in every Central Asian republic. Indian embassies have been opened; however, the meeting held on 29 November in Islamabad has proven that the opinions of the experts sent to these countries were just to make India's Foreign Ministry or the foreign minister happy.

BJP Attempt To Rewrite History Books Viewed

93AS0173C Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 17 Oct 92 p 4

[Editorial: "History: Readable, Unreadable"]

[Text] A dispute has been raised on the changes being made in the history syllabus studied at school in the four states ruled by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. Through these proposed changes the BJP wants to inject into the brains of tender young students things that bear no historical truth. The Aryans are not the outsiders, as a matter of fact they originated from the Indian race; all Indian Muslims are foreigners, outsiders and aggressors; efforts are being made to pass similar other odd facts as historical truth. In addition, attempts are being made to make workable a weird figure that science called the "Vedic mathematics;" by giving instances of the various measurements of the dome and arches of the Babri Masjid [in Ayudhya] efforts are made to teach arithmetic—all of these are evil attempts to design school education in the framework and mold of a very distinct political theory. It is a Hindu theory and its objective is to destroy the contribution of the historic role and importance of the religious minorities in the country. Naturally the Central government is concerned about it. The Ministry for Human Resources wants to challenge the arbitrary reforms in the syllabus. A proposal was also made to activate the NCERT [National Council of Educational Research and Training] and under its guidance to prepare identical guidance for the purpose of writing textbooks acceptable to all.

BJP leaders are not only interested in including the proposed syllabus the unhistorical facts, like the origin of Indianism of the Aryans, the Aryan influence in the Harappa, Mahenjodaro [both now exist in Pakistan] civilization and so forth, but they also delete from the history books the chapters written on Akbar [noted Mughal King], Kabir [famous Indian poet], and Mahatma Gandhi; pass the famous theorem of Pythagoras as a Vedic theorem; propagate stories about the defeat of Alexander [the Great] in the hands of the Indian warriors; paint Akbar as a narrow-minded, despotic ruler instead of a great king; drop Mahatma Gandhi from the history of the freedom struggle and show their arrogance for Hegrewadke, the founder of the RSS [Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh]—a Hindu militant rightist group; call Chandragupta Mourya [ancient Indian emperor] and Chanakiya [ancient Indian diplomat] Hindu nationalists; and the Ramayana, the Mahabharat famous Indian epics, and the Upanishad [theological and philosophical parts of the Hindu scripture the Vedas] as authentic history. All of these are the ingredients of the Hindu fundamentalist propaganda of the RSS. Such sinister-designed and, at places, malicious propaganda were already heard from the election rostrums or different wayside meetings with the motive of misleading and exciting the masses. But to speak out about something standing at a market place for the

purpose of creating immediate excitement and to brain-wash students with false propaganda are completely different things. The latter is not only immoral but also dangerous considering its consequences. The BJP government in four states are ready to do this dangerous work. They knew very well that they would not get the support of the historians and the educators. Therefore, they started this task of changing the syllabus absolutely unilaterally without waiting for the advice from the expert or holding discussions with some educational institutions in the states. With an excuse to fight against fake secularism, the intellectuals baptized in Hinduism started extending their reasons and pleas in support of this malicious work. But all respectable historians and prominent educators are expressing their anger and protesting against such reforms in the educational program.

Although the RSS is assured of growth in the number of its workers in adulthood when the students receive such type of education in their school days, it cannot be a desired objective of any educational policy. Leaving aside everything, it is not desirable that students of the remaining states in the country study one type of thing

while the students of four states study another. Talks are going on about how to remedy this deformity. Because education is under the jurisdiction of a state, any federal initiative in this regard will surely be opposed as Centre's interference in the rights of the states. But the steps the BJP are taking must be stopped. The proposal made by the minister for human resources to draw an identical guidance policy for textbooks of all states under the NCERT, deserves consideration. At the same time relevant discussions on it could also be started with educators from all over the country. By holding conferences, seminars, etc. of renowned historians, educators, and even vice-chancellors of the universities, efforts can be made to reach a settlement by pursuing the current policy of attaining unanimity. The subject is sensitive. Because it is not possible for the Centre to impose unilaterally anything from the top, the BJP-ruled governments cannot also be allowed to mold in this way the design of the syllabus according to their party principles. All secular and honest educators, learned teachers, and intellectuals of the country should become active in this regard. It should be remembered that presenting false facts as true ones to the students is crippling the future of a nation.

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